A PROFILE OF NATIVE PEOPLE IN ONTARIO

ONTARIO
MINISTRY OF CITIZENSHIP AND CULTURE

Traditionally
the council fire provided
a central focus around which Native
meetings were held.

The symbol itself is based
on the Woodland Indian adaptation of
18th century European designs for
use on early trade silver.

Many western designs were
transformed by Native crafts people
and continue to be used today
in the production of silver jewelry
in Ontario. The logo was first developed
by the Native Community Branch in 1971
to mark the establishment of the
Meeting Fund whereby Native groups and
Government of Ontario representatives
could come together to discuss
issues of mutual concern.

A PROFILE OF NATIVE PEOPLE IN ONTARIO

Ministry of Citizenship and Culture
January, 1983

Published by the Ministry of
Citizenship and Culture
Printed by the Queen's Printer for Ontario
Province of Ontario
Toronto, Canada

©1983 Government of Ontario

Copies available at $2.50 from the
Ontario Government Bookstore,
880 Bay St., Toronto for personal shopping.
Out-of-town customers write to
Publications Services Section,
5th Floor, 880 Bay St., Toronto, Ontario,
M7A 1N8. Telephone 965-6015. Toll
free long distance 1-800-268-7540; in
Northwestern Ontario 0-Zenith 67200.

CONTENTS

	INTRODUCTION	4
1	Historical Development of Status, Non-Status and Metis Groups in Ontario	5
2	Cultural Perspectives	21
3	Demographic Perspectives	29
	MAPS	35
	FOOTNOTES AND REFERENCES	38
	APPENDICES	
1	Indian Treaties in Canada	45
2	Pre-Confederation Acts Affecting Indians	47

INTRODUCTION

The material contained in this publication was originally prepared for Ontario's delegation to the Conference of First Ministers on Treaty and Aboriginal Rights held in Ottawa on March 15-16, 1983 under the provisions of the Canada Act, 1982. Its purpose was to provide a brief historical, cultural and demographic introduction to Ontario's Native people. It is by no means a definitive study. Rather, it outlines in narrative form some of the more important historical events affecting Native people in Ontario, their cultural environment, and major demographic characteristics. Since Native people in Ontario have rich and diverse backgrounds, it would be a mistake to describe them in over-simplified terms. However, there were no short and general studies available to serve the original purpose of this document, and it was felt that such material should be at the disposal of the Ontario delegation.

The process of constitutional renegotiation by Native people that began with the 1983 Conference of First Ministers on Treaty and Aboriginal Rights is designed to ensure that the future of Canada's Native people is more in keeping with their aspirations. This study documents some of the background to that process. As the discussions begun in 1983 continue, a new picture will emerge of the interaction between Ontario's Native peoples and the non-Native population of the province.

This publication is based on work done by consultants engaged by the Ministry of Citizenship and Culture, under the supervision of a Ministry steering committee. The consultants were:

Douglas Leighton
Huron College
London
Ontario
N6G 1H3

Patricia Sawchuk
18-1219 York Mills Road
Don Mills
Ontario
M3A 1Y4

Opinions expressed in the document are those of the consultants and do not necessarily represent the position of the Government of Ontario or the Ministry of Citizenship and Culture. Many of the issues discussed are subject to different interpretations, and other sources should be consulted for more detailed background on these issues.

HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF STATUS, NON-STATUS AND METIS GROUPS IN ONTARIO

1

The Aboriginal Population of Ontario

Ontario's Native population has developed in close harmony with the province's geography, among other factors.[1] The swampy lowlands around James Bay and the southwestern shore of Hudson's Bay provided rich yields for the early Cree trappers and hunters who made the region their home. The heavily-forested Canadian shield, stretching eastward across the province from beyond Lake Superior to the Ottawa and St. Lawrence Valleys influenced the evolution of various tribes: Ojibwa, Ottawa, Algonquin and Mississauga peoples all lived within the shield's embrace. Below the shield, in the fertile uplands north of Lakes Ontario and Erie, lived groups of Iroquoian speakers. The Hurons' homeland lay in the country between Lake Simcoe and Georgian Bay, though some of the villages were located to the east in the valley of the Trent River. Neutrals and Tobacco people lived across the south-western part of the province from the Niagara frontier to the St. Clair River and southern Lake Huron.[2]

Much debate still surrounds the origins of these people and the nature of their societies on the eve of White contact. Conventional text-book accounts convey the familiar pictures of a migration from western Asia between twenty-five and thirty-five thousand years ago and of a gradual spread south and east across the face of the new continent. By the sixteenth century, in this standard viewpoint, some 250,000 Native people inhabited what is now Canada.[3] Recently, scholars have begun to question some of these long-held assumptions. It now seems that human beings have been present in the Americas for a greater length of time and that the aboriginal population was substantially larger than was previously believed. By the fifteenth century more than 2,000 culturally distinct groups had emerged among a total population that probably exceeded ten million north of modern Mexico. Much acrimonious scholarly ink is still being spilled in an effort to clarify these new estimates and their implications.[4]

The European explorers of the fifteenth, sixteenth and seventeenth centuries did not discover an empty continent. Rather, they came to a relatively populous new world whose inhabitants had adapted to a rich variety of changing environments over long periods of time. Amerindians were quite capable of dealing with Europeans diplomatically, commercially and politically. The awesome double impact of biology and technology left them extremely vulnerable to the European influx. The aboriginal population of Ontario probably did not exceed 50,000 on the eve of White contact and certainly declined in the first half of the seventeenth century. But Europeans too were affected by the processes of interchange. Both groups changed as a result of contact.[5]

Among the first Natives to make continuous contact with Europeans in Ontario were the Hurons, who involved the French explorer Champlain in one of their raids against the Iroquois as early as the summer of 1609. Iroquoian-speaking agriculturalists, the Hurons lived in fortified villages.[6] Inside the palisades were the long house dwellings characteristic of Huron culture while outside were the fields where corn, squash and other crops were grown. Game and fish supplemented a basically agricultural diet. The four tribes of the Huron confederacy were important for they occupied a strategic commercial position between the fur suppliers of the upper Great Lakes and the tribes to the south. The arrival of the French intensified the importance of the Hurons, as they became middlemen in the traffic for furs and European iron goods. The advent of the fur trade also intensified the ancient Huron rivalry with their Iroquois cousins to the south of Lake Ontario: there was no room for two sets of trading wholesalers. Both groups sought to gain a monopoly on the lucrative trade in prime northern pelts. The Hurons attempted to enlist the French in their diplomatic cause just as the French sought Huron trade contacts.

Between the two major antagonists lay smaller Iroquoian tribes who were nonetheless significant. The Neutrals controlled the country around the head of Lake Ontario while the Tobacco people or Petuns, who lived further west and south, seem to have been important in the flint trade. Flint was the raw material from which arrowheads, spear points and

cutting tools were made: flint beds gave their owners great diplomatic and military importance.[7] Like their more numerous neighbours, the Neutrals and the Tobacco peoples lived in fortified villages surrounded by cornfields. All the Iroquoian speakers had developed mixed economies which depended in no small part on active commerce. The arrival of Europeans put enormous pressures on these trading peoples which had important consequences for all of them.

The French chiefly used the Ottawa River route when travelling to Huronia and this brought them into contact with Algonquin bands whose territory lay north of Quebec and Montreal, but which extended east and south to the valley of the Ottawa River. The summer hunting territory of the Kichesiperini Algonquins straddled the river in the vicinity of the Isles des Allumettes (near modern Pembroke), enabling them to collect tolls from fur-laden Huron canoes down-bound towards the French posts on the St. Lawrence. The Montaignais tried similar tactics on the St. Lawrence in the vicinity of modern-day Montreal with less success.[8] These tribes were part of the large Algonquian language family which included the Cree, Ojibwa and Ottawa tribes. These peoples led a semi-nomadic hunting and gathering existence which has led one authority to classify them as migratory bands of the eastern woodlands.[9]

The cultures which developed in the Canadian Shield and in the James Bay lowland differed in some important respects from their agricultural counterparts in the more fertile country to the south. Topography and climate combined to make the economic support of large groups impossible for any length of time. Consequently, most of these tribes existed as separate, small bands which migrated on the basis of seasonal activity. Their housing, implements and socio-political structures were flexible and portable. It was these tribes which provided the prime pelts for the early fur trade, so they were much courted by both the French and the Hurons and later by English traders operating from posts on Hudson's Bay.[10]

European technology-steel traps and knives, for example, had a great impact on these people but, fittingly, the reverse was also the case. European traders quickly came to prize the technology of portability, such as birchbark canoes and snowshoes, that had developed among the migratory bands of the shield. They also rapidly became aware that Native traders were experienced bargainers who prized their commercial independence.

The names which the Europeans gave to the tribes of Ontario seem to have come from a variety of sources. Some were clearly attempts to transliterate Indian terms into European tongues. Others seem to have been European in origin. Bruce Trigger suggests, for example, that the word Huron came from French slang meaning "rustic" or "barbaric". The Hurons referred to themselves as wendat, meaning "the people of the island".[11] The terms Neutral, Petun and Cree (evidently short for Kristineaux) are of French origin, while the words Ojibwa and Ottawa (or Odawa) are Algonquian terms. The etymology of many of these names cannot be satisfactorily explained.[12] Finally, some terms developed variants which may refer to the same group as the original. "Ojibwa", for example, generally refers to people of that group residing north of the upper lakes. "Chippewa" refers to members of the same culture living below Georgian Bay in western Ontario, such as the Chippewas of the Thames, of Sarnia or of Saugeen as well as others living in the United States.

The advent of permanent European communities in North America unleashed forces which would have enormous long-term effects on the original peoples of Ontario. Whole cultural identities — those of the Hurons and the Neutrals, for example — would disappear, while new groups like the Chippewa and the Mississauga would emerge over the course of the eighteenth century. Finally, the fortunes of war would see groups of refugees like the Munsees and the Mohawks enter British territory after 1783. These migrations caused considerable intra-tribal conflict at the very time when Indian cultures as a whole had to confront White penetration of their ancient territories. Complicated cultural changes continued well into the nineteenth century.

Indian-White Relations in the Province, 1600-1815

European overseas expansion brought the Indians of Ontario into contact with the French and the English and peripherally with the Dutch whose agents were actively supporting the Iroquois as early as 1614.[13] For more than a century and a half, the fur trade remained the great economic bond between these groups and their Indian contacts.[14] The French and the Dutch single-mindedly pursued trade dollars via the St. Lawrence and Hudson's Bay. This international competition left the Indians of Ontario in positions of strength: they could — and did — play the European powers off against one another for their own advantage. The Dutch pressed their alliance with the Iroquois by trading alcohol and muskets, while the French sought to build a closer relationship with the Hurons by a substantial missionary effort. The vacillations of Samuel de Champlain's Indian policies after 1620 and the impact of epidemic diseases in the 1630's weakened the French-Huron connection and left the Hurons themselves impotent because of sudden population reductions and subsequent socio-political breakdown. Desperate to ensure their own supremacy in the eastern fur trade, the Iroquois sensed a great opportunity to eliminate their arch-rivals. Between 1648 and 1651, the Hurons and their allies were destroyed by a series of Iroquois campaigns. Pathetic groups of survivors fled to the west or took miserable refuge with the French in the village of Lorette just outside Quebec City. Some Hurons were adopted into member tribes of the Iroquois which had themselves suffered severe population declines. After the middle of the seventeenth century, the Huron nation ceased to exist, leaving the whole of southwestern Ontario as a hunting ground for others. There would not be a significant permanent Native presence there for another century.

French-Indian relationships caused the development of policies and attitudes which survived the end of the French regime in 1763. The fur trade was essentially a business relationship and Indian peoples had an essential role to play in it. The French tended to treat them as commercial partners. Traditional Native cultures were not initially threatened by such a partnership. Indeed, many younger Frenchmen, chafing under the regulations imposed upon them by the colony after the advent of royal government in 1663, sought a freer existence among the bands involved in the fur traffic. In seeking such a lifestyle, they were following a pattern which Champlain himself had begun early in the seventeenth century when he had sent Etienne Brulé and other young men to live among the Indian allies of the French and learn their languages and customs. Such practices tended to cement the informal bonds linking Native societies to that of the French colony.

The Church took an active interest in Native peoples though its efforts produced only mixed results. Champlain sought to use missionary endeavour as a means of drawing Native people closer to French colonial policy. The Recollets — an order of reformed Franciscans — had little success and were followed by the Jesuits. Though much more formidably equipped than their predecessors for mission work, these men found Iroquoian and Algonquian cultures resilient and resistant to change. Only after the natural and political calamities of the 1630's, for example, were significant numbers of Hurons converted to Christianity.[15] Even when conversion did take place, Catholicism posed less of a threat to Native traditions than did Protestant views. To be a devout Catholic was to take part in the visible life of the church: regular attendance at Mass and confession and participation in the important ceremonies of the ecclesiastical year were the signs of conversion. Protestantism, with its emphases on the inward, personal nature or religious experience and on Biblical literacy, tended to equate conversion with visible changes in behaviour and dress. It would be unwise to press these differences too far, but a case can be made for Catholicism's relative compatibility with non-European cultures. Just as the fur trade was less threatening to Indians than a settlement frontier, so too Catholicism appeared to be less threatening than Protestantism.[16]

Legally, the French state regarded Indians as minors who possessed no rights save those granted them by the crown in its capacity as the guardian and protector of orphans and minors. Native peoples, given this status, were legally incompetent. Conse-

quently, no treaties of land surrender were signed in New France nor did the French colonial civil service possess an Indian department. Rather, Native affairs were dealt with by the governor in his diplomatic and military capacities. When land was reserved for a Native community, it was deeded to a French protector — usually a religious order — for the use or benefit of the band in question. This tradition has survived to the present in the province of Quebec. Recently land and cash settlements in connection with the James Bay power project have moved away from it, which gives these modern "treaties" great significance.

A social consequence of French-Amerindian contact was the creation of a sizeable community of Indian-White ancestry. Referred to as "bois brulés" or later as "Metis", these people served as labourers — canoemen, packers and provisioners — in the fur trade. Usually the offspring of French fathers and Native mothers, many brulés spent their lives with the Indian relatives, though it was not uncommon for them to adopt a French lifestyle and become part of Quebec colonial society. The colony desperately sought to increase its population after 1633, so there may have been little official impediment to such acculturation. There was certainly no attempt to define Indian or brulé in a narrow, legal way. The terms were biological and social ones, reflecting the realities of French society in the St. Lawrence Valley.

Anglo-Indian relations developed in different directions than those of the French and their Native business partners. The Hudson's Bay Company rigorously sought to draw a firm social line between its officers and servants and their Indian clients. Despite such rules, Company employees frequently enjoyed the companionship of Indian women, especially those from among the bands of the provisioners who lived close to many HBC posts and who were consequently called the Home Guard. The result of such contacts was a growing mixed-blood population in the Company's territories.[17] In the English colonies along the eastern seaboard, equally firm lines were drawn between Europeans and Indians. Tensions between the two groups along the leading edge of the settlement frontier prevented large-scale social relationships. For most New Englanders or Virginians, Indians were primitive nuisances who had to be overcome. For most Indians, Europeans were untrustworthy newcomers who seemed to have an insatiable appetite for Indian lands and who therefore presented a serious threat to tribal traditions.[18] In the context of a settlement frontier, people of mixed ancestry were regarded with suspicion by both White and Native cultures. Many later American novelists and writers, such as Zane Grey and Walter Edmonds, used the "half-breed" as a symbol of wilderness savagery and duplicity.

Furs formed the basis of early French-Indian relations, but land was the most precious commodity in the Thirteen Colonies. As the colonial population swelled, methods of land acquisition and ownership had to be worked out. The French had simply regarded Indians as legal incompetents who possessed no title to the lands they occupied except by permission of the French crown. This stern doctrine was ameliorated in practice because Indian land ownership was never a long term issue in New France. The English view was that aboriginal inhabitants did have claims upon their ancestral lands because of their occupation of them from time immemorial. This Indian title was not absolute, but was rather usufructuary, that is, one based on occupation and usage. When settlers wished to acquire Indian lands, Native peoples were thus entitled to compensation for the extinguishment of this aboriginal, usufructuary title. Treaties were the means by which such arrangements were made. In the English experience, therefore, treaties of land surrender became an important part of the Indian-White relationship from an early period.[19]

As English-French rivalry over the control of the North American interior escalated in the late seventeenth century, Native diplomacy became extremely important. Here the French enjoyed an initial advantage, for they had worked in the field from the time of Champlain and Etienne Brulé. Only with the advent of the Hudson's Bay Company had the English begun to deal extensively with Native people in their own surroundings. The English colonies had little experience of this type and sometimes lacked

the inclination to treat Indian "nations" as diplomatic equals. Nonetheless, as early as the 1680's colonial boards of Indian commissioners appeared, designed to supervise the acquisition of lands and the maintenance of good relations with neighbouring tribes. The membership of these boards was usually composed of politicians and landowners who were subject to considerable local pressure from their non-Native constituents. The Indian population was frequently ill-served by such groups: much frontier unrest was the consequence.

The imperial authorities were alarmed by this colonial failure to deal equably with the tribes of the frontier. British officials believed that they could not afford to antagonize Indians during the struggles with France and moved to exclude local authorities from the field of Indian diplomacy. Indian relations became the prerogative of the British military by the Seven Years' War, leaving the civilian colonial population resentful and angry.[20] On the eve of the war, Britain's colonial administration was divided into northern and southern departments, with Indian superintendents in each. The northern superintendent was an Irish estate manager and entrepreneur from the Mohawk Valley named William Johnson, who received his imperial appointment in 1756.[21]

Johnson was the nephew of the British admiral Sir Peter Warren who owned extensive lands south of the Mohawk river just west of its junction with the Hudson. The twenty-three-year-old native of County Meath came to the colonies in 1738 to act as his uncle's agent. Over the ensuing thirty-six years, he formed close personal attachments to the Mohawks which kept them loyal to the British cause through the Seven Years' War and the American Revolution.

Johnson also founded a dynasty which controlled the British Indian Department until 1828. His son, John Johnson, his two sons-in-law Guy Johnson and Daniel Claus and his grandson William Claus, all held important posts in the department.[22] This "Johnson tradition" remained a visible presence among its senior officers until the middle of the nineteenth century.

The years between the end of the French regime and the outbreak of the American Revolution saw important developments in the British-Indian relationship. Many western tribes believed that the French would return to their former trading stations in the north by advancing up the Mississippi Valley. Others determined to resist the advance of the British settlement frontier beyond the Great Lakes. Sporadic frontier violence was the result. Though these skirmishes, sieges and raids are usually referred to as the Pontiac rebellion, the wily Ottawa war-chief was only involved in the struggles in the vicinity of the upper lakes. The British government responded in two ways. Diplomatic overtures to the disaffected bands of the Ohio Valley and the country beyond it were intensified: William Johnson and his officials held several important councils designed to mollify these Indians at locations such as Sandusky on Lake Erie and Fort Detroit.

Secondly, the imperial authorities moved to control access to the continental interior. White settlement was forbidden to the west of a line drawn through the headwaters of streams flowing into the Atlantic Ocean from the Appalachian height of land. Traders could enter the area only under licence and had to report regularly to Indian Department commissary officers stationed at major military outposts. These developments set the pattern of British Indian policy at least until 1815.

The Royal Proclamation of 7 October 1763 was — and is — a fundamentally important document for the Indian populations which remained in the British sphere of influence in North America.[23] It acknowledged the importance of aboriginal title, although it did not define the term, and it committed imperial authorities to the stabilization of Indian relations on the frontier. British Indian policy thus rested on two fundamental principles: authority would precede settlement as the frontier developed and lands could be acquired from Indians only by the extinguishment of aboriginal title through the British Crown. These axioms were rejected by the American colonists after 1776 but they remained fundamentally important in the remainder of British North America. As loyalists and others entered old Ontario after 1783, these policies came with them.

The Royal Proclamation was designed to establish the pattern of colonial government in a North America that was British from the Gulf of Mexico to Hudson's Bay. The boundaries of newly acquired territories, such as the province of Quebec, were described. A civil administration was promised to replace the military one which had governed the former French colony on the St. Lawrence since 1760. Colonial governors were forbidden to negotiate Indian land surrenders or to make grants from such areas: the Imperial authorities would assume direct control of Indian affairs. All land west of a line drawn through the headwaters of streams flowing into the Atlantic Ocean was Indian territory. Settlement was forbidden beyond it and trade beyond it was permitted only under imperial licence.

British Indian policy was predicated upon respect for Indian land rights, the need for loyal military allies in a period of colonial unrest and the desire for a stable, peaceful frontier so that the expansion of settlement could proceed in an orderly fashion. In the forty years between the outbreak of the American Revolution and the end of the War of 1812, this approach was remarkably successful.[24] The Mohawks supported the British cause in the revolutionary war and followed other loyalists into exile at its end. In the old northwest, warfare never ceased against American frontiersmen: many of the tribes of the Ohio country retained their diplomatic ties with Britain until 1815. Rough but capable Indian superintendents and agents like Alexander McKee, Matthew Elliott and Simon Girty dealt successfully with Indian leaders such as Tecumseh.[25] Tribal leaders perceived British policy as less threatening to themselves than the uncontrolled expansion of the American frontier.

Native peoples played an important role during these formative years in Upper Canada. Loyalist Mohawks who lost their lands held the British to their promise to provide new lands to replace those of the Mohawk Valley. Negotiations were held with the Mississaugas to obtain lands for the Mohawks along the Grand River. The Haldimand Grant of October 25, 1784 consisted of lands six miles deep on each side of the Grand from its source to its mouth. The surveying and selling of these lands became extremely controversial over the next two decades: The present Grand River reserve is part of this enormous territory.[27] A second group of Mohawks settled on the Bay of Quinte, forming the nucleus of the modern Tyendinaga community.[28] Other refugees later joined those of the Six Nations. A group of Delawares settled at Fairfield-on-Thames under Moravian missionary leadership in the 1790's. Destroyed during the war of 1812, the village was rebuilt on the south bank of the Thames River and became known as Moraviantown.[29] The last group of Native people to enter the province was an Oneida party who sold its remaining lands in New York state and purchased new acreage on the south bank of the Thames River in Southwold township in the early 1840's. Not until the 1880's did the Oneidas of the Thames complete the acquisition of their present reserve.

In a frontier colony with a small population, Native people were far more visible and significant than they became after the great periods of immigration in the 1820's and 1840's. The provincial capital at York was frequently visited by delegations of Indian leaders on official business. Mississaugas from the Credit River community a few miles to the west were often seen there as well. The town of Amherstburg was a focal point for Indian-white diplomacy because the western Indian superintendency was located there. The military garrison at Fort Malden and the nearby Wyandot community in Anderdon township also made the Native presence more visible in the colony's southwestern corner. In the northern part of the western peninsula, Chippewas and Saugeens continued to exist in the traditional ways until nearly the middle of the century.

While most Indians in the province lived in a manner distinct from that of the White population, some of them became increasingly Europeanized. The best-known Native leader in Upper Canada before the War of 1812 was the Mohawk war-chief Joseph Brant. Before his death in 1807, he had established himself on a large estate at Wellington Square — now Burlington — which contained all the elements conducive to the lifestyle of a country gentleman, includ-

ing black slaves.[30] Brant's family continued to exist very comfortably in both worlds, his son John serving briefly as the MLA for Haldimand before his untimely death of cholera in 1832.[31]

A substantial mixed-blood community had emerged in Upper Canada by 1815. Most people of such ancestry had Indian mothers and White fathers. Usually living with their mother's bands, most half-breeds — the term then most often used to describe them — remained indistinguishable from the general Native population to the outsider. Only within Native communities were social distinctions generally observed and even there they were often obscured over time. There were, however, some families of mixed ancestry who chose to follow a European style of living, playing prominent roles in the pioneer communities where they lived. The Ironside family of Amherstburg, for example, retained its social importance through three generations. George Ironside Sr. had emigrated to America from his Native Aberdeen sometime in the 1780's, becoming active in the Ohio fur trade. His Mohawk-Shawnee wife bore his several children while he consolidated his later career as an Indian storekeeper and agent.[32] His eldest son, George Jr., succeeded to the Amherstburg Indian superintendency in 1830 and then to the northern superintendency on Manitoulin Island in 1845. The younger Ironside also married an Indian woman: one of his daughters later became wife of W.M. Simpson, a Hudson's Bay Co. factor in Sault Ste Marie who later acted as one of the Canadian negotiators for the first western Indian treaties in the early 1870's. Another of George Ironside Sr.'s sons, Robert, trained as a physician in Scotland and practised medicine in Thorold, Ontario, dying there in 1857.

Other well-known citizens of Upper Canada were of Indian-White ancestry. Peter Jones, the Methodist missionary, was the son of a pioneer surveyor and his Mississauga wife.[33] Molly Brant, the sister of Joseph and the long-time companion of Sir William Johnson, played a leading role in Kingston society before her death in 1796 and saw her daughters marry into some of the colony's most prominent families.[34] John Norton, the controversial successor to Joseph Brant as captain of the Six Nations, was of Scots-Cherokee background. Unusually, his Indian ancestry was paternal.[35] The late nineteenth century writer and lecturer, Pauline Johnson, was the daughter of a Six Nations chief and his English wife.[36] Other families with Indian ancestry included the Kerrs and Clenches of the Niagara Peninsula.

These examples clearly demonstrate that mixed ancestry was no bar to social and political advancement in Upper Canada. But they also clearly show that there was no distinct mixed-blood community in the province, as there would be later in the west along the banks of the Red, Assiniboine and South Saskatchewan rivers.[37] Half-breeds in old Ontario chose either to follow an Indian way of life or to enter colonial society and become indistinguishable from the European population. They thus became an "invisible people" who nonetheless contributed a great deal to the province's early history.

With the end of war in 1815, the position of Native peoples in Ontario began to change radically. Their services had always been sought in times of conflict, giving them some diplomatic freedom of action. Moreover, the pressures of White settlement had not yet posed a serious threat to their traditions. In the five decades after the Battle of Waterloo, all this would change. A peaceful age saw no use for warriors who were now redundant. Farmers and developers regarded Indian populations as nuisances who had to be removed. Educational and religious institutions saw Natives as people who had to be remade.

Indians in Early Nineteenth Century Ontario, 1815-1867

Indian Policy and Administration

After 1815, the British and colonial governments had to plot a new course for Indian policy and its administration. The basic issue which confronted them was the composition of long-term peacetime programs. Two contradictory themes developed around that issue. The first was fiscal economy: as the century wore on, Britain constantly tried to reduce her colonial obligations and expenditures. The second was humanitarian improvement: for a variety of imperial

and Christian evangelical reasons, many British politicians and civil servants felt that the metropolis had an obligation to "civilize" its aboriginal colonial peoples. The problems of nineteenth century Indian policy in Canada — especially in Ontario — would be caused by the tension between these ambitions.

The Indian Department went through a series of enormous changes in this period. Several senior administrators died or retired in the late 1820's, ushering in the first set of administrative reforms. After 1830, the department's Upper Canadian section fell under permanent civilian control, reporting to the civil branch of the colonial government and through it, to the imperial authorities. Indian affairs remained an imperial prerogative until 1860. At the same time, the system of superintendencies was changed. The central superintendency was the responsibility of the chief superintendent: its boundaries stretched north of Toronto and then west from Lake Simcoe to Georgian Bay and the Bruce Peninsula. The Six Nations had their own superintendent in Brantford. The western superintendency was head-quartered in London while the Amherstburg superintendency retained its responsibilities for bands in the southwest and Lake Huron areas. A new northern superintendency was created at Manitowaning on Manitoulin Island.

This system remained intact until the provincial union of 1841. With the creation of the Province of Canada, the entire apparatus of government was overhauled. No department was more thoroughly examined than Indian Affairs. In 1838-39, a one-man commission examined it and found nothing seriously wrong. Similar conclusions were reached a year later by a three-man commission that was part of much larger series of inquiries into all government departments. From mid-1842 to early 1844, however, a royal commission appointed by Governor-General Sir Charles Bagot, minutely examined all aspects of the Indian department's history and current operations. It recommended sweeping changes, including the discharge of the chief superintendent and more rigorous supervision of fiscal practices. Finally, a third official *troika* again looked at the department in 1856-58 and recommended methods to increase its efficiency and cut its costs.

The Indian department's basic structure remained untouched through all of this, though its administrative practices were greatly changed. The system of superintendencies was retained and improved. The old chief superintendency was replaced by a visiting superintendency, which allowed the department's operational head to exercise more effective supervision over his subordinates. Several officials, such as Chief Superintendent S.P. Jarvis and Six Nations superintendent James Winniett were removed from office. The reformed administration worked sufficiently well to be adopted by the federal government after 1867 and to be extended to the prairie west.

Each superintendent was responsible for several bands in his district, the Six Nations administration being the sole exception. Assisting him were a number of lesser officials. Sometimes assistant superintendents were appointed to maintain contact with bands that were either geographically remote or of sufficient size to justify the additional personnel. Missionaries and schoolmasters were usually jointly responsible to the superintendent and to a religious denomination or sponsoring organization such as the New England Company. Timber and land rangers tried to prevent White incursion onto reserve land or theft of band resources. Interpreters were, of course, ubiquitous. Many of these positions were filled by Native people who were paid on a *pro rata* basis for their services. Medical aid usually took the form of a medicine chest kept in the superintendent's house, although some of the larger bands kept local physicians on retainers.

Until 1860, the expenses of the department were partially underwritten by the imperial government. As early as the 1820's a fixed parliamentary grant of £20,000 was applied to the cost of Indian administration in Canada, though this never covered the annual total needed to run the department. Canadian officials were understandably reluctant to assume political responsibility for Indian administration because of the fiscal benefits of colonial status. An administrative hiatus occurred on the British withdrawal: the Province of Canada did not appoint a

permanent department head until 1862. Made part of the Department of Crown Lands upon its transfer, the Indian branch passed to the Secretary of State at Confederation, then to the Secretary of State for the Provinces — the department created by Sir John A. Macdonald to give Joseph Howe a place in the cabinet — before it finally found a home in the Department of the Interior after 1873. It remained there for more than sixty years.

If administration went through many changes in the nineteenth century, policy did not. The purpose of the Indian department's existence was the "civilization" of the Indian. Native people were to become sedentary Christian farmers so they could learn the social and economic skills necessary to cope with British North American society. Eventually, it was thought, a separate Indian identity would disappear and complete assimilation would occur. Social engineers naively believed that the process would take no longer than two or three generations. For them, the Native way of living was crude and barbaric: Native people would welcome the change to westernize and to abandon their ancient customs. Some authorities noted that many tribal populations were in steep decline and that, consequently Native people would disappear in any case. Proponents of this pessimistic view saw the policy of civilization as a means of ameliorating conditions for a dying race. Neither group could foresee permanent heavy expense as the result of the "civilizing" policy.

Experiments in Indian civilization had begun with the administrative changes in the 1820's. Model communities had been established which, it was hoped, would demonstrate the way of the future to Native people. The first of these was the village of Coldwater in the country between Lake Simcoe and Georgian Bay. Houses were constructed, fields laid out and provisions made for religious and scholastic instruction. Within half a decade, the experiment had failed. A second attempt to create a model community centred on the village of Manitowaning on Manitoulin Island failed equally quickly.[38] It was clear that civilizing Native people would be a much slower and more complicated process than had been thought.

There were three chief reasons for this failure. The most obvious was that of geography and climate. Neither village was located in an area where agriculture could flourish. The soils were too thin and rocky and the growing season too short to permit substantial crops to be grown. Second, the government did not make available financial and human resources in sufficient quantity to enable the projects to succeed. Intensive instruction was required to impart the arts of civilization. But the most significant reason for failure lay with the Native peoples themselves: they clung tenaciously to their traditions in ways that humanitarian reformers found baffling and incomprehensible. Hunting and gathering bands did not find it easy to adapt to an agricultural way of life. When their labours did not produce results, they simply abandoned the attempt, returning to the old ways. These ways seemed to them to be more successful. Ironically, while the settlement of Manitowaning was a failure from its inception, the nearby village of Wikwemikong, which depended on a fishing and hunting economy, continued to grow and prosper. Such lessons were not lost on Native people.

The failure of these model communities did not deter those who still believed that assimilation was the best policy to follow. Education was the prime vehicle for eradicating Native customs and inculcating European knowledge: Indian schools therefore became the focus of the 'civilizing' policy at mid-century. To the usual academic elementary institutions already present on many reserves were added a variety of other approaches.

The Mohawk Institute, a residential school for Native students near Brantford, had begun to function earlier but flourished under the leadership of the Reverend Abram Nelles after 1837.[39] Similar schools, which stressed technical education in addition to regular classroom subjects were opened at Alderville, southeast of Rice Lake, and at Munceytown, on the Caradoc reserve near London. Here, it was thought, Indian boys could be taught the skills necessary for farming while girls could be instructed in household science, enabling them to become successful domestics. These educational experiments, however, were no more successful than the model communities. By the mid-1860's, the schools at Alderville had

been closed, while agricultural education at the Mount Elgin school had been abandoned. Only the Mohawk Institute achieved any lasting success.

These schools failed for several reasons. They were not staffed by adequately trained teachers, few of whom were prepared to endure low pay and cultural isolation to work in them. Curricula were those of conventional schools and consequently did not appeal to Native students or their families. Discipline was often rigid and included harsh punishments for students who attempted to use their own dialects. Indians protested against these conditions in a variety of ways, the most common of which took the form of long absences from school. Even when education 'succeeded', it failed. A graduate of these schools certainly did not possess sufficient skills to adapt to colonial society but he had probably lost whatever traditional Native skills he once possessed. Such people found themselves in the worst of all possible worlds, shunned by non-Natives and treated with suspicion by Indians. The ideals of humanitarian assimilationists once again failed to be realized.

The basis of the Indian department's administration throughout this period was the reserve system. Evident in English-Indian relations as early as the late seventeenth century, the system was elaborated and refined after 1830.[40] Treaties of land surrender were the key to the establishment of reserves, and they too rapidly evolved in the nineteenth century. The British perceived natives as having rights of occupancy and use in the lands they occupied. They did not possess full title in fee simple: that is, their ownership was not absolute. Treaties of surrender were designed to pave the way for orderly settlement by extinguishing these Native usufructuary rights.

The earliest treaties in Upper Canada usually did this by giving the bands making the surrenders one-time-only payments in cash or in goods. Hunting and fishing rights were usually allowed to continue throughout the entire surrendered tract, provided they did not interfere with settlement or communication. Part of the surrendered tract was selected by the band signing the treaty for its exclusive use, thus creating a reserve community.

Treaties and Reserves

Treaties have been an important part of Ontario's Indian administration for two centuries (see Appendix 1 for a full list of Indian Treaties in Ontario). Sir William Johnson made agreements with Native peoples at Fort Stanwix, Fort Niagara, Sandusky and other locations which indirectly began the process. Sir Frederick Haldimand procured the Grand River lands from the Mississaugas for the use of Six Nations loyalists in 1784, commencing a series of agreements which covered much of southern Ontario. Many of these early arrangements — such as the Gunshot Treaty of 23 September 1787 — were informal or unusual, causing complications which lasted nearly a century and a half. The Williams Treaty of 1923, for example, attempted to redress earlier errors. By 1819, the treaty process had begun to mature: annuities — as opposed to one-time-only payments — were introduced as a regular feature of treaties that year. By mid-century the Robinson Treaties of 1850 and the Manitoulin Treaty of 1862 provided models for the post-Confederation numbered series of treaties which covered much of the old Hudson's Bay Company territories.

Treaty-making was a serious business. Preliminary talks were sometimes held as much as a year in advance of the actual negotiations. Treaty commissioners were usually well-placed politically but were also often familiar with the situation of the Native peoples in the area. William Benjamin Robinson, for example, had spent a goodly portion of his life in the Indian trade. While many commissioners lacked his experience, they were always closely advised by local Indian department administrators. Indian leaders too, were shrewd bargainers, often surprising their White counterparts by their astuteness. Robinson found Chief Shinguacouse of Garden River a skilful negotiator. William McDougall was surprised by the intransigence of eastern Manitoulin chiefs in 1862: they never did sign the treaty or surrender their land.

After 1830, this system evolved to accommodate both the need for long-term financial support of Native communities undergoing the 'civilizing' process and the government desire to pare expenditures. Surrendered Indian lands were surveyed

and sold at public auctions, with the proceeds being credited to the appropriate Indian bands. Deductions were made by the Crown Lands department to cover its administrative costs and the remainder was used as a capital fund to generate interest. The band was allowed to use this interest to finance its ongoing expenses, such as the erection of schools and public buildings. In theory, it was hoped that the Indian department and the program of civilization could be financed entirely out of the proceeds from the sales of Indian lands. In practice, this was never the case. The expenses of assimilation were always higher than was expected, while the income from land auctions was always lower. The annual British parliamentary grant of £20,000 never bridged the gap, leaving the government of the Province of Canada to assume some expenses from its general revenues. After 1860, of course, Canada assumed this entire fiscal responsibility.

Reserve titles and benefits were collective in nature. Only individuals acknowledged by a band as being among its membership were entitled to a portion of reserve lands and revenues. Reserve farmers were given location tickets for their plots and could only sell their holdings — usually for the costs of any improvements — to other members of the band. Treaty annuities were generally divided on a *per capita* basis. Indian superintendents were responsible for the day-to-day administration of these arrangements and for the maintenance of accurate band lists. These tasks were not easy, often being complicated by personal conflicts or administrative confusion. Some bands were entitled to benefits other than those they had obtained by treaty. Chief among these were annual presents. Initiated by the French as a diplomatic device, presents had become an important part of Indian-white negotiations in the eighteenth century. Indeed, for many Native groups, the exchange of presents had been a significant part of intra-Indian relations before the arrival of the Europeans. The British military had used them to reward its faithful allies and the custom had continued into the nineteenth century. The annual £20,000 grant provided by Britain was largely intended to cover the expenses associated with presents. Generally, they took the form of blankets and utensils and were highly regarded by their recipients.

The issuance of presents illustrates the kind of complications faced by Indian department administrators. Superintendents had to estimate the number of presents they would use for their bands two years in advance. Once these requirements had been assembled by the Indian department, they were forwarded to England through the Army commissariat, which purchased, stored and shipped the goods back to Canada. The Indian department then distributed the presents to their respective destinations from the commissariat's warehouses. Many errors could occur in such a cumbersome system — and often did. Estimates were often wrong. Goods were misplaced in transit — or lost through accident. Indians might be dissatisfied with their presents in any given year. The administration of Indian affairs was never easy.[41]

By the middle of the nineteenth century, the conduct of Indian affairs in the Province of Canada had begun to mature. The Indian department's structure had steadily improved as had the quality of its senior personnel. The treaty and reserve systems had developed patterns that would be adopted by the Dominion after Confederation. The sources of financing remained uncertain but relatively little outside general revenue was required to run the system. Reserve communities seemed on the whole to be successful, those in the southern part of Canada West being virtually indistinguishable from the surrounding rural White society. That Indians had virtually disappeared from the public mind was doubtless due to their lessened military and diplomatic status after 1815. But their lack of visibility was also testimony to the relative efficiency of the Indian department's administration in the decade and a half before 1867.

The development of the territories north of the Great Lakes after the middle 1840's illustrated both the successes and shortcomings of the routines that had developed in Indian-white relations. The Robinson Treaties of 1850, the Manitoulin Treaty of 1862 and the passage of an increasing number

of legislative acts affecting Indians were all important in this respect. The commencement of mining operations along the north shorelines of Lakes Huron and Superior led to an influx of settlers and some minor conflicts between the newcomers and the Ojibwa bands of the area. In the late 1840's the government conducted extensive preliminary negotiations with these people before actual treaties were hammered out at Sault Ste. Marie in early September, 1850.

The Robinson Treaties established reserves and band funds on the basis of population, with a sliding scale of annuities providing for demographic changes. Much hard bargaining accompanied the treaties. Similarly, the Manitoulin Treaty twelve years later was preceded by careful preliminaries and by difficult negotiations. The bands of the island rejected initial government overtures in 1861 and those in its eastern end refused to sign the treaty itself the following year. Their descendants, centered on the village of Wikwemikong, still take great pride in living on unsurrendered Indian land. The hard feelings surrounding the treaty found expression in 1863 when minor violence flared between some government officials, Jesuit missionaries and Indian leaders in that community.[42] Indian-White relations in Ontario have generally been seen as regular and peaceful. While there is some truth in this view, it nonetheless does oversimplify the official relationship between the two groups. Tensions were very real and violence sometimes lurked just below the surface of the government-Indian connnection.

Indian Legislation

Legislation affecting Indians was frequently passed during the thirty years before Confederation (see Appendix 2). Ten acts between 1838 and 1860 covered such diverse topics as hunting regulations, the protection of Indian lands, the regulation of the liquor traffic on reserves and the processes by which Indians ought to be civilized. Some of these acts overlapped and contradicted one another, indicating the confusions that had developed from the haphazard course of their development. Shortly after Confederation, the central government moved to clarify the legislative position of Indians and to create Dominion-wide uniformity by passing the first consolidated Indian Act. Drafted by Alexander Mackenzie's Liberal regime in 1876, the Act was amended by Macdonald's Conservatives in 1880, 1881 and 1884. It remained in force, with amendments, until the present Indian Act was passed in 1951.

These Acts reflected the policies and preconceptions about Indians held by Victorian Canadians. Native people were regarded as untutored human beings who needed the protection and help of the government to survive. The government in turn was obligated to them because of past historical commitments, such as existed in the case of the Six Nations, or because of their ancient rights to the land which had been surrendered by treaty. Bands who possessed neither a history of alliance nor a treaty remained outside the government's largesse. By the last third of the nineteenth century, that was not a viable or enviable position for most Ontario Indians. Indian legislation also held out inducements to Indians to assimilate. While they retained status on band lists, they were not permitted easy access to alcohol — liquor was generally banned on reserves — nor could they exercise the franchise. If, however, they signified a desire to become civilized and displayed characteristics of sobriety, dependability and hard work — usually attested to by their agent or superintendent — they could obtain full citizenship. Indian legislation thus reflected the policy of assimilation and drew a sharp distinction between being a citizen and being an Indian. Not until the mid-twentieth century would these two conditions be regarded as legally compatible.

The Metis population of the province fell into legal limbo between the status of citizen and that of Indian. Unrecognized in legislation, they were sometimes included in treaty discussions. One of the concerns of the Indians signing the Robinson Huron Treaty in 1850, for example, was the fate of their half-breed relatives. W.B. Robinson felt that if band leaders wanted to include such people on their lists, they should be free to do so. His position in a sense reflected the legal and social reality of the Metis: they had to choose whether they would be Indian or White. Once the choice was made, they in many ways ceased to be people "in between". Their dilemma was not an enviable one: either choice meant giving up some-

thing of their unique inheritance. Politically, they remained extremely vulnerable, being utterly dependent on the good will of band leaders for their positions on band lists. Legally, they had no distinct existence.

By 1867, the legal, political and social patterns of the province's Native peoples had been set. Legislation was in the process of clarifying Indian Status and would do so by 1876. Politically, Indians had to deal directly with the government through the Indian department which had developed an administration and organization that would serve into the last third of the twentieth century. Socially, the Indian population varied. Southern bands practised agricultural economies which resembled those of their White neighbours. In the north, ancient hunting and trapping patterns persisted: indeed, it seemed sometimes that whites who came to the Canadian shield to develop its mineral wealth adapted to a quasi-Indian way of life. In both regions of the province, Native people were largely forgotten as colonial Ontarians began to work out the implications of Confederation for their province.

The Native Population in Post-Confederation Ontario

Confederation changed little for the Native people of Ontario. The Indian department's headquarters was now located in Ottawa instead of Quebec City or Toronto, but the administrative system in the province remained virtually intact. Offices in cities such as Toronto, London, Brantford and Sarnia remained responsible for day-to-day contact with bands in their districts. In the south, routines long developed composed the major part of the department's concerns. Band lists had to be kept up to date. Reserve boundaries had to be enforced. Treaty monies and other benefits had to be equitably distributed. In the north, treaty negotiations remained an important matter. Treaties Three (1873) and Nine (1905) covered parts of northwestern and north central Ontario. Some confusion still existed concerning earlier arrangements in the south-central portion of the province: the Williams Treaty of 1923 attempted to rectify this situation.[43] But the post-Confederation period basically saw the working out of policies and programs with roots in the preceding four decades.

The reserve communities of the south seemed to function at their best between 1867 and 1914. Designed as farming communities, many of them were able to compete successfully with their White counterparts. Reserve populations were increasing but had not done so to the point where local resources could no longer support them. Indian farmers often won prizes for their produce at local fairs and other agricultural displays. An active agricultural society existed on the Grand River reserve. Inhabitants of the Caradoc reserve regularly entered their prize grains and vegetables at the Mount Brydges fall fair.[44] Many Indians from southern Ontario later found employment in the industries spawned by the second stage of the industrial revolution. Walpole Islanders worked in Detroit automobile factories. Moraviantown and Caradoc men came into London to work in that city's secondary industries. Women living in communities close to metropolitan centres frequently marketed traditional hand-made items, such as footwear and baskets, on a door-to-door basis in large towns and cities.

The First World War marked a watershed in these developments. The Indian population, which had suffered a steep decline in the nineteenth century because of the spread of epidemic diseases, made a spectacular rebound at the turn of the century. By 1914, most reserves could no longer support their populations. Many young men volunteered for war service, leaving farming endeavours beyond the capacity of those who remained. The impact of war on returned men sometimes manifested itself in a discontent with the rural deliberateness of reserve life which surfaced in the 1920's. Finally, Canada was no longer a rural society after 1921. While more and more Canadians became urbanized, Indian communities did not follow that trend. Reserve agriculture began to fail; young people began to look to a style of life predicated upon non-Native urban norms; young adults began to question their cultural, social and political traditions. Many reserves saw large portions of their populations become non-resident, returning only on holidays. Unemployment became rampant, especially

after the 1929 economic collapse. Instead of acting as protected homes for their people, many reserves became depressed rural slums, marked by political and social unrest.

Ontario's Metis community grew in the early twentieth century as well. Largely forgotten or ignored in the period following Confederation, many Metis had nonetheless retained a sense of identity which was distinct from those of both Indians and non-Indians. Metis spokesmen, for example, were visible during the negotiations surrounding Treaty Three in 1873. Many of those in northern Ontario evidently continued to act as trappers and provisioners in the fur trade. The construction of the CPR, the building of the National Transcontinental and the expansion of the Grand Trunk presented opportunities for employment in the establishment and maintenance of railways. Metis people could be found in most of the small communities that grew up as the northern part of the province continued to develop. The eventual extension of provincial government departments and services into the north also presented employment opportunities for many Metis. The expansion of the Native population in southern Ontario coupled with the economic prospects inherent in larger population centres created a more visible Metis group in that area as well. Modern Ontario Metis have begun to re-establish a sense of identity and to recapture a sense of their past.

Indian leadership changed during this period. For many Native people, traditional leaders were no longer adequate after 1918. Those who had the experience of a wider world because of the war were sometimes impatient for change. Those who had been educated in White ways often regarded older traditions as being passe. One of the consequences of these criticisms was the emergence on many reserves of a political dichotomy between traditionalists and modernists. The Grand River, for example, witnessed arguments in the post-war period between those favouring elected chiefs and those who preferred the old Iroquoian methods of selection. Sometimes these traditionalist-modernist conflicts took on religious and cultural overtones. Christian Indians in some communities tended to regard themselves as more modern than those who stood by older non-Christian traditions. For their part, traditionalists regarded those who opposed them as people who had ceased to be Indian: they were *vendus* or "apples" — red on the outside but White underneath. These tensions still exist in many reserve communities.

Population pressures and other factors forced many Native families to seek employment in urban environment during the period after World War I. Large Indian communities sprang up in several cities. Sault Ste. Marie attracted Native people because of its steel industry and its provision for Indian secondary education. It had contained residential schools for the Ojibwa and Cree peoples of the northern part of the province since the late 1870's. Students from remote communities who wished to obtain a high school education came to 'the Sault' to do so. Toronto attracted people from central Ontario simply because its size and diversity presented greater employment opportunities than the smaller centres. Brantford, London and Windsor all drew Indian people from nearby reserves. Families from the same community would often settle in the same urban neighbourhoods, creating small urban extensions of their original environments. Alienated from much of the surrounding population, and often ill-equipped to meet the demands of city life, urban Indians developed a sort of sub-culture that government policies and programs were not designed to service.[45]

Indian political organizations began to flourish during this period at the national and provincial levels. The League of Indians of Canada was formed in 1919 and held several congresses in the Canadian West over the next two decades. The Reverend Simpson Brigham, a Walpole Islander who had graduated from Huron College in London and taken Anglican orders, was the organization's first vice-president. Provincial affiliates were formed from associations that in some cases had already been in existence for some years.[46] After 1945, such organizations continued to proliferate. The Union of Ontario Indians, the Association of Iroquois and Allied Indians, the Ontario Metis and Non-Status Indian Association and other similar groups all sought to publicize Native issues and to influence government decision-making. At the national level the National

Indian Council was superseded by the National Indian Brotherhood and the Native Council of Canada. All these organizations served as training grounds for a new generation of Indian leadership. Young, articulate, at home with the rich and the powerful, leaders such as Alberta's Harold Cardinal, Saskatchewan's Noel Starblanket and Ontario's Del Riley have brought Native issues before the public and various levels of government in very effective ways. At issue in the modern period are the old questions: What is the place of people of Native ancestry in Canadian society? What are the obligations of government towards them? These questions have taken on a new importance in an era of profound social and constitutional change.

The Nature of Status

The legal concept of Indian Status evolved out of the policy experience of the nineteenth century. As Native peoples entered into treaty and reserve arrangements with the government, it became necessary to segregate those who were entitled to treaty benefits from those who were not. This became especially important as treaty forms began to mature: by the time of the Robinson Treaties of 1850, benefits were clearly related to band population. It is important to note that treaty rights are not necessarily synonymous with Indian Status. Indian Status means membership in a band and that in turn means recognition and acceptance by a band council. When Chief Shinguacouse asked W.B. Robinson if half-breeds could be included in the 1850 Huron treaty, the commissioner replied that such inclusions (or exclusions) were the responsibility of band leaders. This loose definition of Status sometimes led to curious situations. Several refugee black families, for example, were apparently accepted by the Tuscaroras of Grand River as part of their community for more than a decade about the time of the American civil war. Indians, in short, were people recognized as such by band councils.

More precise legal definitions began to develop as legislatures in the United Province and then in the Dominion passed increasing numbers of Acts affecting Indians. The Indian Civilization Act of 1857 indicated vaguely that Indian Status depended upon band membership and biological descent.[47] After Confederation, this definition was extended slightly to include descendants of band members, women married to band members and the children of such marriages.[48] Half-breeds were clearly included in such a definition. The consolidated Indian Act of 1876 accepted these earlier definitions but was more specific about denying Status to certain classes of persons. Significantly, half breeds were excluded as were women who married non-Status persons and their descendants.[49] Indian Status thus depended on band membership and descent from a Status male. The term therefore became a narrow legal one. Native people whose ancestry was legally insufficient or whose bands were irregular — that is, lacking a treaty relationship with the crown — were classified as non-Status Indians.

Indian Status and Canadian citizenship, according to nineteenth century definitions, were incompatible. The whole object of Indian policy was to encourage persons of Native ancestry to give up Status and embrace full citizenship by becoming enfranchised. This could be accomplished in several ways. Status persons who completed a university education or professional training were automatically enfranchised. They could, if in other circumstances, apply for it and after a period of probation under the supervision of the Indian department, receive the franchise if they were judged capable of being good citizens. Women, of course, were enfranchised *ipso facto* if they married a non-Status male. Enfranchisement meant that the candidate received title in fee simple to his reserve land allotment but lost his share of the band's annuities and other treaty benefits. Most band councils opposed the process because it might lead to the balkanization of their reserves.

There were some exceptions to this separation of Indian Status and Canadian citizenship, but they are noticeable because of their rarity. For a brief period in the late nineteenth century some Indians were enfranchised because of changes in federal legislation concerning voter eligibility.[50] Those who served in the armed forces during World War I were enfranchised by the Borden government's 1917 legislation affecting the federal general election later that year. But these occasions were either accidental or extraordinary.

In 1959-1960, the preservation of the old distinction ended. The Conservative government of John Diefenbaker extended the federal franchise to Status Indians, making them in the later phrase of the Indian chiefs of Alberta, "citizens plus". The creation of the new constitution, with its charter of rights, has emphasized this dual Status. Indian leaders are currently beginning to work out the implications for their people of the end of the nineteenth century view of Status. Governments are faced with the same dilemma. What obligations do provincial governments have towards Status Indians? Should the social services extended to other citizens through the provinces be extended to Status Indians in the same way?

The situation of Ontario's non-Status and Metis peoples is more difficult to grasp. Only recently have associations devoted to their interests been formed. Historical materials on them are scattered and difficult to find. Nineteenth century officials clearly felt that they could choose to become Indians — that is, obtain membership in a band — or they could opt for full citizenship as whites. These legal alternatives did little to meet the wishes of such people to preserve their own unique identity: aside from mixed-blood groups living in recognized communities or in close proximity to reserves, the Metis of the province would seem to have been absorbed by the larger society around them. It may be that the new constitution will provide the impetus for these people to attempt to re-establish their identity. That process will be extremely difficult.

CULTURAL PERSPECTIVES 2

Introduction

Ontario's Native people have a rich cultural heritage, with many different origins and traditions. The complex relationship between Native people and land is only one aspect of this heritage, but it encompasses many of the factors which are often identified with Native cultural values. Contemporary Status, non-Status and Metis groups in Ontario share these values to varying degrees.

Major Cultural and Linguistic Groups

Linguistic Affiliations

Of the ten Indian linguistic groups in Canada, two are found in Ontario, the Algonkian and the Iroquoian. The Algonkian includes the Cree and Ojibwa languages and these in turn have many subgroups and local dialect variations. There are also distinctions between northern and southern speakers[1]. The Iroquoian family includes Mohawk, Oneida, Seneca, Cayuga, Onondaga and Tuscarora. The Hurons were also speakers of an Iroquoian language, but were otherwise distinct from the Six Nations of the Iroquois.

Cultural Affiliations and Contacts

The Native people of Ontario are from many different backgrounds. In large part their experiences are a product of geography — where they were living was of major importance in determining their interactions with other Native people and with non-Native traders, missionaries, settlers and government representatives. Those located in southern areas such as the Iroquoians, Hurons and Ojibwa (also known as Chippewa and Mississauga)[2] were the first to experience changes in their social order as a result of increasing White contact, while the Algonkians in the northern and western regions of the province, the northern Ojibwa (in the interior, also referred to as the Saulteaux) and the Cree (in the more northerly and coastal regions), lived relatively undisturbed by White settlement for longer periods of time. The growth of a mixed-blood population was concomitant with the contact begun by explorers, traders and later, settlers. Some Half-breed communities developed around trading posts, such as those at Moose Factory, Fort Albany, Sault Ste. Marie, St. Joseph's Island and Fort Frances.

Prior to contact with Europeans, the Indian people in this part of the continent were engaged in extensive and complex trading networks which brought together groups from diverse backgrounds. The nomadic Algonkians would trade furs, meat and fish with their settled Iroquoian and Huron neighbours to the south to acquire corn, tobacco and other cultivated products. The Huron, located between Lakes Huron and Ontario during the 1600's, were famous for their trade activities in and around the Great Lakes region, and once contact had begun and the French were engaged in the procurement of furs in this area, the trading networks developed by the Huron and others were used to great advantage. The Huron traded with the Algonkians to the north and east of them and also with the Neutral and Petun Indians who grew tobacco south and west of Huron territory. Tobacco was much desired by the Huron and was also used in trade with the Algonkians[3]. Thus, trade items often travelled far, with networks extending from the Great Lakes (including Michigan) to the St. Lawrence, east into Quebec, and also north.

Indian populations and the areas they inhabited were often in a state of flux which resulted in a great deal of inter-cultural contact and borrowing of ideas, linguistic features and items of material culture, but relations between groups were not always of a friendly nature and were often characterized by lengthy periods of animosity and warfare. This was the case between the Hurons and the Iroquois by the early 1600's, and by 1650 most of the Huron had been vanquished by the Iroquois and also by epidemics which destroyed much of their population in the 1630's and 40's. Weakened by smallpox and the death of many of their leaders, the Huron were easy prey for the highly organized Iroquois. Many Huron who survived the epidemics deserted their villages and were adopted by the Iroquois and neighbouring groups such as the Petun, Erie, Neutral and Ottawa. After the Huron dispersal, the Iroquois began to pressure Ojibwa groups, who joined with each other to combat Iroquois advances into their territory. Unlike the Huron, their resistance was more effective and by the late 1600's they moved south into what had become Iroquois territory, north of Lakes Erie and Ontario, and also into Michigan[4].

Traditional Subsistence Patterns

By the early contact period, a horticultural economy was well established by the Huron and by some of the more southern Ojibwa groups. Crop-raising formed the basis of subsistence of the Huron and was supplemented by hunting (non-migratory game), trapping and fishing. Anthropologists once thought that fishing was relatively unimportant, but more recent research has indicated that it represented a significant part of the subsistence in the Great Lakes region.[5] The harvesting of wild rice and collection of maple sap were carried out by the Ojibwa in the southern and western parts of the province and remained important as farming was pursued with greater intensity in the 1800's.[6]

Larger populations could be maintained in villages with relatively permanent dwellings where subsistence was based on the planting and harvesting of crops. This was most pronounced among the Huron, who lived in large communities containing up to 2,000 people, organized in a complex network of tribes and matrilineal clans directly tied to political and kin affiliations. The Huron women, who held important positions in the village hierarchy, were in charge of the fields once the men had cleared the land. Corn was the most important part of the diet followed by beans and squash supplemented to a lesser degree by fish and meat. Supernatural protection was sought in the hope of averting droughts and frost. Specialized religious practitioners (shamans) were employed to interact with the gods, ensuring favourable conditions and a bountiful harvest.[7]

In contrast to the complex social organization of the Huron and also of the Iroquoians, the southern Ojibwa (like their northern counterparts) were organized into bands which were led by a headman or chief, and which could contain up to several hundred people divided into hunting groups. The southerly Ojibwa groups were more dependent on farming for their subsistence while the northern groups relied on hunting and fishing, supplemented by crop raising[8] and led a semi-nomadic life.

The Algonkians in the north and west of the province (Ojibwa in the interior, Cree in the northerly and coastal regions) did not have rich farmlands available to them. Of necessity they lived a semi-nomadic life and shared a subsistence based on hunting of migratory game (e.g., moose, caribou), fishing, trapping (beaver, otter, muskrat, mink), and in the northwest, wild rice harvesting. These subsistence activities took up a great proportion of their time. In the subarctic, group size was smaller, social organization was relatively less elaborate, and settlements and dwellings much less permanent. Bands were led by headmen who were charismatic leaders, good traders and hunters, and knowledgeable about religion. Other influential people included shamans, specialized religious practitioners who claimed more power than the average person.[9] Rituals (religious practices involving the propitiation of game animals) were associated with hunting and the killing of animals. Bones were treated reverentially in order to ensure continued success in the hunting of each species.[10] Starvation was often a threat during the winter months; large family groups would split up and travel in pursuit of game, coming together again when resources were more plentiful.

Changing patterns in yearly cycles and resource exploitation were experienced as contact increased, trading posts built and much later, regular services provided by government. Store-bought goods in part replaced country foods, while European tools and weapons and means of transportation were incorporated into the technology. A much more efficient exploitation was made possible through the use of these items, but at the expense of a loss of a "traditional" and fairly autonomous life.

Changes in Economy

In the north, Native people became involved with the fur trade economy as suppliers of furs and provisioners for the posts, and over time developed more complex relationships with fur trade personnel. Many became dependent on the posts in time of need, when resources were scarce or climatic conditions unfavourable.[11] Those Indians who were most closely associated with the posts were called the "Home Guards". Intermarriage took place between Indian women and traders and these unions were very valuable to the traders and the

companies for which they worked. Alliances were formed with Indian fur trappers which facilitated the work of the trade, and a Half-breed, or Metis, population grew up in association with the fur trade economy.

Metis, like Indians, became dependent on the fur trade economy and were hired in considerable numbers. During the good years of the trade, their work was valued and they had the opportunity to move up within the ranks of the companies. In later years, after the 1821 merger of the Hudson's Bay and the North West companies and the downward trend in the economy in the late 1800's, fewer positions were open to the Metis, and upward mobility was restricted. Metis, in communities such as Moose Factory, were relegated to the lower-paying, unskilled positions (e.g., labourers, apprentice tradesmen).[12] They had become dependent on the new wage economy and could not move back easily into the "traditional" lifestyle because of the changes this had undergone as part of the fur trade experience.

In the south where farming was practiced by the Ojibwa, two periods of decline in the Native economy were experienced. The first occurred in the early 1800's when many Americans, British emigrants and Iroquois from upper New York State moved north into Ontario's farmlands and caused Native farmers to move farther north.[13] The second occurred after the agricultural economy peaked in southwestern Ontario at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th. During the 1800's, reserves were established throughout southern Ontario and farming was enthusiastically encouraged by the federal government with the intention of developing a population of Indian farmers who would be self-supporting. Because of increasing opportunities open to them as wage labourers in farming and farm-related industries, many Indian farmers were lured off their reserves where farming had provided a good living. From 1920-23, many Indians were employed in the flax industry; in 1924 they worked on tobacco farms and in pickle factories. As wage labour became more reliable and thus more attractive, Indian farms were left unattended for several seasons, only to deteriorate. When the larger economy suffered and wage labour opportunities disappeared, due in part to the influx of European immigrants who took over the jobs, the Indians returned to their farms which were unable to provide a means of support as they had before. It was at this time that social assistance became a necessity in communities which had once been self-supporting, such as on the Chippewa of the Thames reserve.[14]

Contemporary Situations

Native people feel that they have varying degrees of affinity with the land, in both a material and a spiritual sense. Those who are still actively engaged in partially subsisting on the land by hunting, trapping and fishing feel that they are closest to it. Many others, whether they are on reserves or in urban centres also believe that they have a special attachment to the land. This special relationship between people and land expresses a wholeness comprising spirituality, cultural heritage, language, and artistic expression. The land embodies all of these elements and is a "homeland" and a symbol of Native tradition. It constitutes for Native people an image of what and who they are.

The descendants of Ontario's first inhabitants are now found in all areas of the province. Today Native people live both on- and off-reserve, in settlements on Crown (Ontario) lands, in small towns and in large urban centres. There has been an increasing trend towards urban migration from Indian communities over the last few decades. By the mid-1800's many Indians in southern Ontario had been settled onto reserves as part of the treaty-making process. In the northwest, the establishment of reserves occurred after the signing of Treaty No. 3 (1873 and adhesions) and in the north, after the Treaty No. 9 negotiations (1905-6, 1929-30). In the Treaty No. 9 area, where Cree and Ojibwa form the majority of the population, some people have chosen not to live on their reserves on a regular basis, but live instead in small communities in "the bush", closer to their traplines and hunting grounds.

Bands and Reserves

The "bands" of Indians who reside on reserves today are not bands in the traditional sense, but represent administrative units recognized by government. They can vary in

size from under 50 to several thousand and their members can live on one or more reserves set aside for the band. A band is a body of Indians recognized by the federal government, for whose benefit and use land and money have been set aside and held by that government. The land which has been set aside is called an Indian reserve — a tract of land set aside for the use and benefit of a band, the legal title to which is vested in Her Majesty.[15] Reserves may be located on traditional hunting grounds but are not necessarily so, yet presently ties to reserve land are strong. The reserve is land which band members identify with as individuals, as family members, and as community members.

There are many differences between northern and southern reserves. Residents on northern reserves have little contact with large, urban centres unless they leave their reserves for extended periods of time for education or employment. They have fewer services (good roads, indoor plumbing, variety of stores) and conveniences available to them. Migration to large urban centres can mean a major change in lifestyle. The presence of reserves in the north is a relatively recent phenomenon (Treaty No. 9 was first signed in 1905-6 and adhesions were made in 1929-30), and subsistence in many areas (e.g., Osnaburgh, Wunnumin Lake) is limited to seasonal economic pursuits.

Southern reserves stand in sharp contrast to their northern counterparts. Many can be called "highly urbanized" because of their proximity to urban centres and the high percentages of their population who live off-reserve or commute between the reserve and place of employment. The southern reserve residents enjoy good services and accessibility to cities. The economies of the southern reserves are more closely integrated with the dominant economy and non-traditional occupations. They were settled much earlier, many of them prior to 1850, and have experienced a longer history of direct contact. All of these factors, however, do not detract from the bonds between the southern reserve and their residents. Commitment to the reserves is very high and is reflected in the return-migration which has occurred on these reserves over the last few years.

Perceptions of Native Identity

The present Native population contains not only Indians with legal status under the Indian Act but also Metis and Non-Status Indians.

To precisely define what a Metis is in Ontario is not an easy task. What does it mean to be a Metis? According to a prominent Metis spokesman in Ontario, "Metis can be considered to be people who identify themselves as such".[16] Generally speaking, self-identification as a Metis is an affirmation of that identity. What is significant is the decision, conscious or otherwise, to recognize one's ancestry and to identify as a Metis.

Metis and Non-Status Indians have generally been identified politically as one group. Internally, within the political organizations of MNSI, distinctions between the two have sometimes been made. There has been a preference for the term Metis.[17] Until recently, one organization (OMNSIA) whose title includes both the terms Metis and Non-Status Indian has been the political body that claims to represent both Metis and Non-Status Indians. This organization considered changing its name to the Ontario Metis Association in 1982, apparently in response to the inclusion of all Native people (Indian, Inuit and Metis) in the new Constitution.[18] However, for the moment, its name remains unchanged.

The Non-Status Indian population increased after legislation was passed that attempted to define who Indian people were. In June 1857, the *Act for the Gradual Civilization of the Indian Tribes in the Canada* (20 Victoria, ch. 6) was passed and provided for the enfranchisement of suitable Indians, who were selected on the basis of criteria including age, sex, educational achievement, industriousness and potential for independent status.[19] Although Indians who met the requirements of being able to act as responsible citizens were strongly encouraged to enfranchise, very few actually did. The 1869 Enfranchisement Act also included a clause which excluded persons of "less than one-fourth Indian blood born after the passing of

this ACT" from receiving annuities and other monies payable to band members.[20] The 1876 Indian Act contained nine clauses which dealt with enfranchisement. By that Act, an Indian who considered himself "ready" (i.e., "civilized" enough) to take this step "forward" could present himself to an appointed agent of government to find out if he would be eligible to start the enfranchisement process. If acceptable, the six-year plan for eventual enfranchisement was begun.[21] In fact, since that time very few Indian people have chosen to become enfranchised, although many have become so involuntarily.

Amendments to the Indian Act continued to include clauses on enfranchisement and the number of these clauses increased. By 1920, another change was introduced that was intended to increase enfranchisement. Another amendment was passed in 1922 in response to objections that had been raised which provided for a decrease in the powers in the previous legislation and allowed for enfranchisement to be initiated only at the request of Indian bands or individuals.[22]

Native People in Urban Centres

Whereas in the past the majority of Native people lived in less densely populated areas there has been an increasing population of Native people in urban centres which provide opportunities for advanced education and employment. Some have chosen to remain in the cities and become urban dwellers, returning to their home communities only occasionally, if at all. Others who are more closely tied to their home bases move between them and the urban centres, drawn by a push-pull sort of experience, or what some have called a "commuter" situation or "hypermobility".[23] Another category of people remain in their home communities all of their lives, save for limited trips out for medical care, education, holidays, conferences, and so forth.

The chosen place of residence is related to a number of factors including educational background, employment opportunities, job skills, kin ties, friendship networks, age, sex, housing conditions and degree of Native identity and orientation. Different strategies come into play as individuals make decisions about where to live and work. Political awareness and orientations also influence migration patterns.

Those reserves and other Native communities where economic and educational opportunities exist are more likely to have a greater percentage of their populations remain and conversely, in those where few opportunities exist, there is more incentive to migrate. Another factor is the proximity of the reserve or community to urban centres.[24] Many of the southern Ontario reserves are highly urbanized. Their residents are familiar with the urban centres and routine patterns of migration between the reserves and these centres are well established. There is a familiarity and ease of accessibility for southern Indian reserve residents, both of which are lacking for those living on remote northern reserves. Out-migration of older teens is common on reserves located near urban centres.[25] Urban centres which attract large numbers of Native people include Toronto, London, Hamilton, Sarnia, Peterborough, Sault Ste. Marie, Thunder Bay and Fort Frances.

A number of research projects[26] have been conducted to determine why some people migrate to urban centres and why others remain in their home communities. What becomes apparent from reading the findings is that reserves, other Native communities and the urban centres cannot be examined in isolation, but must be viewed as interlocking parts in a complex system which is in a state of change. What is significant about urban migrants from reserves is that the reserve is always there as a place to return to (except for those who for personal reasons would never return). It exists as a secure home base[27] and is often referred to as a place of spiritual renewal and security by those who migrate and later return. On reserves and in small Native communities, extended family networks are important and relatives are close by, forming a support system which is often not possible in urban centres. What sometimes replaces this kin network in cities are Friendship Centres, drop-in centres or hostels, Native children's programmes, and other Native associations in which people can share common concerns as Native people.

Families

The concept of family among Native people is a difficult one to define, and yet it is an important one. In traditional Indian societies (Ojibwa, Cree, Iroquois, Huron) the extended family was more important than the nuclear family unit. Extended families can include two or more nuclear families joined by a sibling link (in one generation) or through a parent-child (inter-generational) link. Hunting bands generally consisted of a number of related, extended families led by a headman. Among the settled, horticulture-based societies of the Iroquois, for example, extended family units whose members traced their descent through their mothers, lived together in longhouses controlled by senior matrons. Nuclear family units were recognized in both of these situations, but were not the significant social or economic units. Though these societies have been transformed and in most cases bear little or no resemblance to aboriginal society, there have been some residual characteristics of traditional family life which have remained.

Although reserve populations today may bear no resemblance to traditional group formations and identities, but instead can represent "collections" of assorted individuals and groups who were brought together to form a "band" as defined by the Department of Indian Affairs, there are some salient features of family life on reserves which tend to distinguish them from non-Native communities. Members of one's family beyond the nuclear unit are important and often play an active role in an individual's life. Inter-generational contact between grandparents and grandchildren can be particularly strong and it is not unusual for a grandmother to be a child's first teacher and confidante. Elders have remained principal figures and are treated with respect. The extended family and kin network, in addition to the physical reserve itself, represent a security and a home base to which one can return.

Education and Native Input

Indian education has changed since the early contact period, from early control by the military, the missionaries and later the Department of Indian Affairs. Control and responsibility have slowly moved in favour of local bands and communities, particularly after the acceptance by the federal government of the National Indian Brotherhood's 1972 policy statement, Indian Control of Indian Education. Over the last ten years a number of bands have assumed control over their children's education on the belief that greater involvement at the local level will encourage a more positive learning experience. In Ontario there are presently 12 band-operated schools on reserves, two of which provide Kindergarten through Grade 12.[28] In addition, there are 61 Federal Schools for Status Indian students, while the majority attend schools in the provincial system.

In the urban centres, cultural survival schools and other Native-oriented programmes have been established to meet the needs of urban Native children (Status, non-Status Indians and Metis). Wandering Spirit Survival School in Toronto represents an attempt to instill Native values and culture in Native children in the city while providing basic curriculum. This blending of required curriculum and the cultural component through the use of Native teachers and resource people along with non-Native teachers is aimed at assisting the young Native child to identify as a Native person and as a student in an urban school, a situation which ideally precludes the loss of Native cultural heritage experienced by previous generations.

Elders' and Cultural Conferences are another feature of the Native cultural revival and increased interest in education. These have been held with increasing regularity at universities and in Native communities and serve to bring together people of different ages and experiences for an interchange of ideas. They have focussed on cultural heritage, oral history and tradition, spirituality and language, and represent another step in the attempt to bridge the gap between formal (non-Indian controlled) education and a Native-oriented socialization process. The prominent attendance of Elders at these conferences attests to this cultural revival.

The Ojibwe Cultural Foundation on Manitoulin Island has also stressed a strong Native component in the learning process with a special empha-

sis on Ojibwa language retention. The relationship between language and culture is a strong one, closely bound to the artistic component of life, and forms part of the complex, integrated whole which is Ojibwa life.[29]

Contemporary Artistic Expression

The efforts of the Ontario Native community in the area of artistic expression remain strongly visual in nature. The disciplines of literature and publishing, music, dance, theatre and film have not yet yielded a crop of strong young Native artists whose work can stand up to national or international standards. The traditional chanting, drumming and dancing most frequently associated with the pow wow of the Cree, Ojibway and related tribes and the Longhouse socials of the Iroquois remain much as they have through the centuries. It may be noted, though, that in those regions — particularly the north — where abolition of traditional Indian music and dance by Christian missionary zeal had occurred at an early date, a vigorous revival has begun to gain momentum.

The area of Native artistic accomplishment to which the attention of the country, and the world, has been drawn most is that of our painters. There are many Native artists in Ontario who have reached national, if not international, prominence. One of the most successful art forms, in terms of public visibility and enthusiastic acceptance, is the Cree and Ojibway school of painting known as "Woodland", a style made famous by Norval Morriseau, himself an Ojibwa from Beardmore, Ontario[30]. Following in his footsteps have come dozens of younger Native artists in the last twenty years, artists such as Rick Beaver, Joyce Kakegamic, Joshim Kakegamic, Roy Thomas and Saul Williams. Parallel to this development, and equally significant in impact, have emerged other styles of painting by Native artists essentially dissimilar but still of a distinctly Native stamp; Daphne Odjig and Carl Beam, both of Manitoulin Island, stand out as non-Woodland-style Native artists who have established international reputations. Two centres of concentrated activity for the Woodland School have been Red Lake, where an Indian-run co-op has produced silk-screened prints by a number of artists from northwestern Ontario, and Manitoulin Island, where the development of a contemporary Indian art style has accompanied the cultural and spiritual revival of the last two decades, largely embodied by the work of the Ojibwe Cultural Foundation at West Bay.

The work of Morrisseau and other Ontario Native artists after him effected a break with the traditions of their people insofar as the subject matter with which they deal portrays the interior of Indian spiritual culture, something never held up to public view before. By creating bold and colourful canvases based on these themes for a predominantly non-Native audience, these artists have aroused wide interest in Native painting and its intensely spiritual nature. But while the subject matter of these paintings has drawn on traditional and spiritual material, it also derives from contemporary social conditions and political realities. In other words, the work of these young Indians remains a vibrant, living and changing artistic form, deeply rooted in history and yet adaptive to and reflective of contemporary life situations. This artistic awakening has accompanied other Native social and political developments in recent years, all of which together have been called, at various times and places, the Indian movement, the Native rights movement, and the Native cultural revival.

Woodland Indian painting is not the only form of visual art created by the modern Native artist in Ontario. Carvings in wood, pipestone and steatite, depicting animal life, human forms and spiritual beings, offer another medium of expression for Native artists. False Face masks of the Iroquois people, which have ritual and ceremonial significance, are still being carved by the descendants of hereditary clan members. Other artists create jewelry out of silver, using traditional and non-traditional motifs, while still others work in glass beads, birch bark, animal bone and porcupine quills. Evident in all of this work is a rich cultural heritage which today's Native artists feel compelled to express and enhance with both old and new media.

New Era of Political Activity

Government policy in the 19th century was directed towards a phasing out of Indian Affairs administration and the eventual assimilation of Indians. Instead of this occurring, there has been an enormous increase in the Indian population and a concomitant increase in government commitment in the form of funding, personnel and programs. This process has taken many decades to reach its present stage which began in the late 1960's. The stepped-up government commitment has been accompanied by increased and intense political activity of Native people through national, provincial and regional organizations, operating on a scale much greater than that of their ancestors' activities — broader in scope, encompassing a larger geographic area and involving direct contact with international bodies and indigenous people throughout the world. Very vocal leadership emerged in the late 1960's, spurred on by national level leaders, largely in reaction to the federal government's proposal of a "new" Indian policy in 1969.[31] It was at this time that Metis and non-Status Indians began to realize the need for representative organizations separate from the Status Indian organizations.

Political activity today is expressed through the local, provincial and national Native organizations which officially represent Native people to the various levels of government. In Ontario there are eight major organizations representing Status and non-Status Indians and Metis, two of which cross-cut these divisions, the Ontario Federation of Indian Friendship Centres (OFIFC) and the Ontario Native Women's Association (ONWA).[32]

DEMOGRAPHIC PERSPECTIVES 3

Introduction

This Chapter is designed to provide basic demographic and socio-economic information on Ontario's Native population, including both registered Indians and Metis and non-Status Indians (MNSI). Secondary sources were consulted, and consisted of surveys, reports and working documents from the federal and provincial governments and from Native organizations. A considerable amount of data is available for the registered Indian population, while relatively little comparable material exists for MNSI. One of the main reasons for this is the unavailability of basic data such as the size of the population and growth rates.

The information is presented in the following sections:
-Population Size
-Age Composition
-Trends in Growth
-Geographic Distribution
-Migration
-Education
-Employment
-Housing

Population Size

Status Indians

The size of the Status (or registered) Indian population of Ontario as of December 1980 was 70,206.[1] This represents 22.17% of the provincial share of Canada's registered Indian population of 316,737, the largest of all of the provinces. Closest to Ontario in its registered Indian population is British Columbia with 57,295, followed by Saskatchewan, Manitoba, Alberta, Quebec, the Atlantic provinces, the Northwest Territories and the Yukon.[2] The Status Indian population is equal to approximately 0.8% of the total provincial population of 8.6 million.[3]

Preliminary data from the 1981 Census of Population in Canada shows a Status Indian population in Ontario for 1981 of 70,190. This total is based on self-reported data, rather than official band registration lists.[4]

Approximately 68% of Ontario's Status Indians live on-reserve or in settlements on Crown (Ontario) land, while the remaining 32.1% (22,511) live off-reserve, mainly in urban centres. Of the off-reserve population, a higher percentage is from southern bands than from northern ones and 52.7% of the off-reserve population is female.[5]

The terms "on-reserve" and "off-reserve" are based on Department of Indian and Northern Affairs (DIAND) criteria and residence definitions used since 1974. On-reserve type of residence includes "registered Indian band members who are living (1) on reserves set aside for the band, and living (2) on reserves set aside for other bands. The same applies to the registered Indian band members who are living (3) on Crown land in a community administered by their band, living (4) on Crown land in a community administered by other bands, and living (5) on Crown land in a community which is not administered by any specific band".[6] The land in categories 3, 4 and 5 includes Ontario Crown land.

Off-reserve type of residence, following DIAND criteria, includes those registered Indian band members living away from their reserves or communities for twelve consecutive months for reasons other than school attendance or health needs.[7]

During the 1960's and the early 1970's there was a steady increase in the size of the off-reserve population (e.g., 27% in 1966; 32.4% in 1971), but in the last few years there has been a levelling off (31.8% in 1976)[8] with an actual decline occurring among southern bands concomitant with an increase in return-migration to reserves in the south.[9] Compared with the other provinces, Ontario now has the third highest percentage (32.1) of off-reserve registered Indians, but the highest actual number (22,511). In British Columbia 22,169 registered Indians live off-reserve, which represents 38.7% of the total registered Indian population in that province, and in Saskatchewan 15,977 live off-reserve, which represents 33.1% of the total registered Indian population there. The remaining provinces and territories have under 30% of their registered Indian population living off-reserve.[10]

Based on data obtained from research on a select group of reserves and an off-reserve housing program, DREE (1981, Northwestern Ontario)[11] calculated the following population estimates and locations for off-reserve Status Indians in Ontario.

Metro Toronto	3,300
Major urban centres in southeastern Ontario (London, Hamilton, Niagara)	5,500
Major urban centres in southwestern Ontario (Windsor, Sarnia)	1,300
Major centres in central and eastern Ontario (Belleville, Peterborough, Barrie, Ottawa)	3,900
Five major urban centres in the north (North Bay, Sudbury, Timmins, Sault Sainte Marie, Thunder Bay)	3,300
Other northern Ontario centres	4,600
Moosonee, Moose Factory	950
TOTAL	22,850*

*This is slightly higher than the DIAND 1982 figures.

DREE also estimates that there are approximately 2,100 registered Indians from other provinces or territories residing in Ontario. Other studies have not estimated the number of registered Indians from other parts of Canada residing in Ontario, nor the number of Ontario's registered Indians who may be living elsewhere. They have been conducted on the assumption that out-migration is relatively equal to in-migration[12] because these figures would be difficult, if not impossible, to determine.

Metis and Non-Status Indians (MNSI)

There is a dearth of concrete statistical data on the population of MNSI in Canada. In the late 1970's and early 1980's a few surveys were conducted by the federal and provincial governments and Native organizations to determine the numbers of MNSI in each province and in various regions. The figures generated can be considered as very rough estimates only, since it is impossible to ascertain actual numbers, unlike the registered Indian population. Projections have sometimes been based on the figures for the registered Indian population[13] and at other times on samples from selected communities.[14] Generally, we are working with imprecise statistical data on this population.

A 1979 report prepared for the Secretary of State[15] divided the total, national MNSI population into four major categories which have also been adopted and used by other researchers. These categories and estimates of the populations are:

Core, self-identifying	300,000–400,000
Non-core, self identifying	400,000–600,000
Non-core, non-self-identifying	1,000,000–2,500,000
"Global" population of Native ancestry	2,000,000–3,500,000

The "core" population includes people of Native ancestry who share many of the demographic and socio-economic characteristics of Status Indians, but who don't have Indian status.

The "non-core, self-identifying" group includes those who are aware of their Native ancestry but who usually function as part of Non-Native society.

The "non-core, non-self-identifying" have a minimal (or no) awareness of Native ancestry.

The "global" population includes Canadians with some Native ancestry who may or may not be aware of it.

In a report prepared for the Ontario Task Force on Native People in the Urban Setting (1981),[16] using the Secretary of State report's categorization of MNSI, the following figures for MNSI in Ontario were estimated:

Core, self-identifying	50,000– 94,000
Non-core, self-identifying	67,000–130,000
Non-core, non-self-identifying	170,000–540,000
Estimated MNSI total	287,000–764,000

Government programmes are usually directed at the core, self-identifying population and do not take into account the non-core, self-identifying or the non-core, non-self-identifying categories. Even within the core, self-identifying category the range of the estimated population is vast. Estimates of the federal and provincial governments and of Native organizations are at variance, with government departments favoring lower figures and organizations such as OMNSIA using higher ones (see Table 1).

TABLE 1
ESTIMATED MNSI POPULATION IN ONTARIO

"CORE" POPULATION			TOTAL MNSI POPULATION	
FEDERAL[1]			PROVINCIAL[2]	OMNSIA[3]
DREE (1976)	Employment and Immigration (1977)	Secretary of State (1979)	Ministry of Culture and Recreation (1980)	(1980)
50-70,000	50,000	94,200	50-185,000	185,000

1 Source: Taylor, Christopher, *The Metis and Non-Status Indian Population: Numbers and Characteristics.* Report prepared for Native Citizens Directorate, Department of the Secretary of State, 1 March 1979.
2 Source: Ministry of Culture and Recreation, *Metis and Non-Status Indians of Ontario: Community Profile and Demographic Study.* Toronto, 1980.
3 Source: OMNSIA, *The Invisible Natives.* Special Edition, Dimensions, vol. 8, no. 3, June/July, 1980.

The preliminary data from the 1981 Census provides an even lower figure for the "core, self-identifying" category. A total of only 38,770 people in Ontario identified themselves as non-Status Indians or Metis in this Census.[17] This represents scarcely 0.5% of the total provincial population. Based on the above figures, the range between the lowest and highest estimates of the core Metis and non-Status Indian population in Ontario is over 145,000. If the estimated non-self-identifying Native population is considered, the range expands even more. It is therefore difficult to determine a target MNSI population for government programs, because even the most simple factors of population size and distribution cannot be accurately determined.

Age Composition

Status Indians

The population in the under-15 (dependent) age group represents a continually declining percentage of the total Indian population. In 1966 this group represented 43% of the total; in 1976, 37%; in 1981 (projected), 33%; and in 1986 (projected), 29%. These figures are based on the expected continuing decline in the birth rate.

The young adult age group (15-29) has grown proportionately in the last two decades. In 1966, this group represented 25% of the total Ontario Status Indian population; in 1976 30%; and in 1981 (projected), over 32%. It is estimated that the number of persons in this age group will continue to increase but that the proportion of this category to the total Indian population will remain the same through the mid-1980's because of the lower birth rates of the 1960's and 1970's.

The population aged 30-64 years has also increased proportionately since 1966 when it represented 26.5% of the total Status Indian population in Ontario. It is projected that by 1986 this group will make up 33.1% of the total. If this age group and the young adult (15-29) one are combined, thus forming the total labour force population, they comprise approximately 65% of the total Status Indian population in Ontario.

The 65 years and over category has remained proportionately the same from 1966-81, representing between 5.0 and 5.4% of the population.[18]

Overall, the Status Indian population is younger than the total provincial population. In 1979, 57.4% of the total Ontario population was under 30 years old, compared with over 60% of the Status Indian population.[19]

Metis and Non-Status Indians

The MNSI population, along with the Status Indian population, is younger than the Ontario and Canadian averages. The 1978-9 study conducted by Ontario's Ministry of Culture and Recreation (MCR) indicated that 54.4% of the MNSI in the sample of 5,444 was under 20 years of age, while for the total Ontario population the percentage was 34.2. In its national survey of MNSI, the Native Council of Canada (NCC) found 56% of their sample of 24,365 were under 20 years of age.[20]

Another study[21] reports that approximately 43% of the national MNSI population is under 15 years of age and more than 56% are under 20. In comparison, only 36% of the total Canadian population is under 20 years of age.

Trends in Growth

Status Indians

A 1981 DREE study based on data covering the period 1969-79 found a Status Indian annual average growth rate of 2.27%, compared with a total provincial rate of 1.5%. The difference was greater in the last five years of this period when the annual average growth rate for Status Indians was 2.08% and the annual provincial average was 1.1%. The disparity was found to be more pronounced in northern Ontario. The off-reserve registered Indian population has grown at a slower rate than those living on-reserve and on Crown (Ontario) land, with a decrease of .88% occurring among southern, urbanized bands. Overall, the Status Indian population has grown at a rate two to three times greater than the total provincial population,[22] even though the birth rate has declined.

There has been a general decline in the birth rate of Status Indians in Ontario in recent years which follows the trend of the overall Ontario population with a ten to twelve year lag.[23] In the mid-1960's, the Status Indian birth rate was 32.4 births per 1,000 population (almost double the Ontario rate). In 1976, there was a 25% drop, with only 24.4 births per 1,000 population, which was still significantly higher than the overall Ontario rate. In comparison with the growth rate for registered Indians across Canada, Ontario's was lower; in 1966 the Canadian registered Indian population increased at the rate of 41.6 per 1,000 population and in 1976 at 28.5 per 1,000 population. This decline has occurred while the number of females aged 15-44 (i.e., childbearing years) has increased.[24]

There has been a decline in the mortality rate of Ontario Status Indians. However, in all age groups this rate is higher than that of the provincial population. In the age group of 20-44 years, the mortality rate of Indians is four times the provincial rate.[25]

Deaths caused by accidents, poisoning and violence represent about 33% of Status Indian deaths. For the total provincial population, death by these causes represents only 8%. It is expected that the figures for death by these causes will increase in the 1980's because of the growing young adult population.[26]

Metis and Non-Status Indians

It is difficult to determine an annual average growth rate for the MNSI population because precise base population figures are lacking. Most studies have had to depend on the figures for Status Indians and base projections for MNSI on these. If we assume a present core MNSI population in Ontario of 50-94,000 (based on the Task Force's estimates) and accept the increase projected in the Secretary of State's (1979) report for the total Canadian core MNSI population (from 300-435,000 to 375-524,000 by 1990), we can project an estimate of 62,500-112,800 core MNSI in Ontario by 1990.

Geographic Distribution

Status Indians

There are 115 Indian bands in Ontario, with approximately 170 reserves. The federal government (DIAND) has 11 administrative districts in the province. Each district includes from 2 to 30 bands which vary in population from 14 (Wahnapitae, in Sudbury district) to 10,367 (Six Nations, in Brantford district). The map on page 35 shows the distribution of Indian Bands in Ontario.

The locations of Indian bands have been divided into four categories by the Department of Indian Affairs.[27] These are:

urban - has significant land in or contiguous to an urban centre (100,000 and over in population with economic characteristics of an urban centre).

semi-urban - is located within commuting distance of 40 miles to the nearest urban centres where good all-weather roads are available.

rural - consists of other bands (where commuting distance is over 40 miles to the nearest urban centre) located within the Canada Land Inventory boundaries and having reasonable means of transportation, at least one good road.

remote - includes: a) all bands not located within the Canada Land Inventory boundaries and b) all other bands within C.L.I. boundar-

ies but considered as lacking reasonable means of transportation (no roads).

In Ontario, there are eight urban bands, 21 semi-urban, 52 rural and 34 remote. In terms of percentages, 75% of the bands (86) are located in rural or remote areas and 25% (29) in urban and semi-urban areas.

Approximately one-half of the population belongs to bands in urban or semi-urban areas and the remaining half to those in rural or remote areas.[28]

Metis and Non-Status Indians

It is estimated that approximately half of the Metis and non-Status Indian population lives in urban centres. Others reside in rural communities and small towns. Movement (migration and return-migration) between home communities and urban centres is common. The map on page 36 shows the distribution of Metis and non-Status Indian locals in Ontario, which are organizational units of the Ontario Metis and Non-Status Indian Association. Indian Friendship Centres serve both the Status and Non-Status populations, and are shown in the map on page 37.

Migration

The migrating population of both Status Indians and MNSI is relatively young, being concentrated in the under-30 age group. This group is generally referred to as the "highly mobile" of the Native population.[29]

Patterns of migration and return-migration appear to be similar for both registered Indians and Metis and non-Status Indians. It is possible that a larger proportion of MNSI will move to urban centres and stay there longer because they do not have the secure home base of a reserve to return to as do Status Indians; however, at least one study indicates that return-migration of MNSI is fairly common and that for MNSI, as for Status Indians, urban migration is not a one-way move.

Return-migration may be due to a number of factors including:

- -unfavourable economic conditions in urban areas and lack of jobs
- -increased awareness of and pride in Indian identity
- -problems of adaptation in cities by those coming from rural and remote areas
- -the lure of the familiarity of reserve life, family and friendship networks
- -improves living conditions on reserves.

Education

Status Indians

The retention rate (the number of students who are enrolled in Grade 1 and remain in school to Grade 12) for registered Indians in Ontario is about one-half of the Ontario average. As of 1979, the overall retention rate for Ontario Indians was 38%.

During the period 1966-77, Status Indian students enrollments increased 24% (to 14,678). This increase was most evident in the kindergarten and secondary school enrollments. The secondary school retention rate for Status Indians is still only about one-half of the provincial average. It increased slightly from 34% in 1973 to 38% in 1976 compared with the overall Canadian Status Indian rate which decreased from 32% to 28% during the same period.[30]

Metis and Non-Status Indians

MNSI appear to lag in educational achievement compared to the total Ontario population. A 1979 Secretary of State report[31] noted that only about one-half of MNSI surveyed (throughout Canada) had completed eight years of formal schooling. This compares unfavourably with the Canadian average of approximately three-quarters.

In the Ontario Task Force study of Native people in urban centres[32] it was found that over 40% of MNSI had eight years of school or less, compared with 27.7% of the provincial population. It is encouraging to note that the younger generation of MNSI is enrolling and remaining in school longer than the older generations did, which suggests that in the future the numbers of MNSI in higher education will increase.

The studies conducted by the Ontario Ministry of Culture and Recreation and NCC showed that less than 5% of the MNSI labour force population surveyed had completed some post-secondary education, compared with almost 33% of the provincial labour force population.[33]

Employment

There is a paucity of concrete statistical data on the employment and unemployment figures for Indians in Ontario[34] and also for the MNSI population, for which information is lacking in most areas. However, in spite of the limitations, some studies have provided useful estimates from which preliminary generalizations can be made.

Status Indians

Status Indians have a relatively low participation in the labour force, and band populations generally face high rates of unemployment. This is in part due to the seasonal nature of work in remote communities and also to the lack of opportunities on many reserves. Another factor is involvement in non-wage labour such as hunting, trapping, fishing or gathering which do not necessarily produce earnings, but which do contribute to the subsistence of participants and their families on a seasonal basis.

One study conducted by DIAND (1979) indicates that Indian women are in a more disadvantaged position than Indian men. They tend to be employed for shorter periods of time and they earn lower incomes than both Indian men and other Canadian women. A higher percentage of Status Indian women are heads of household, compared with Canadian women generally, which places them and their dependents in a relatively poor socio-economic condition.[35]

Metis and Non-Status Indians

The unemployment figures for MNSI have been estimated at three to four times higher than those for other Canadians and are highest in the under-30 and over-45 age groups.[36] In the Ministry of Culture and Recreation survey (1980) of 5,444 persons, it was found that 43.0% of the households had one member employed and 23.6% had two or more employed at the time of the survey. The overall unemployment rate in the five regions surveyed was 23.1%, lower than that found in other studies. This figure includes persons who were unemployed (but not necessarily seeking employment) at the time of the survey, and differs from the figures used by Statistics Canada which include only those persons who are unemployed and looking for work.

The MCR study also found that the unemployment rate was highest (32.6%) in the older labour force age group (50-65 years) and lowest (16.2%) for those age 30-39. The rate for those aged 20-29 years fell in between, at 26.2%. Women had a rate 5% higher than men.

A 1978 OMNSIA survey of MNSI indicated an over-concentration in seasonal employment,[37] which may be attributed to the non-urban residence of many of the interviewees.

Housing

Status Indians

In assessing the housing needs of Ontario's registered Indians, DIAND (1979) reported that there was a shortage of over 2,500 housing units, based on a 1977 Housing Needs Analysis Survey. In addition, 2,400 existing units were in need of major repairs. Only 80% of the dwellings had electricity, 49% had running water and 39% had sewage disposal and indoor plumbing. Reserves in urban areas fared better than those in remote areas.[38]

If the on-reserve population continues to grow and if the return-migration experienced during the last few years continues, there will be an even greater demand for housing on Indian reserves.

Metis and Non-Status Indians

The situation looks better for the MNSI population, based on smaller samples. According to the findings of the MCR (1980) study, 60.1% of the MNSI population sampled owned their own homes in 1979. This rate is only 5% lower than the Ontario average for the same year. The MNSI homes were generally smaller and the conditions more crowded than those of the Ontario population overall. In terms of services, 94.2% of the MNSI dwellings had electricity, 85.4% had running water and 82.1% had sewers.[39]

The Task Force survey (1981)[40] results were not as encouraging as those of the MCR study. The sample, based on persons living in urban settings, was found to have ownership levels of 21-55%. It is important to bear in mind that the size of the two samples varies considerably (489 in the Task Force study, 5,444 in the MCR study) and that more research is needed to reach conclusive results for the larger MNSI population.

Indian Bands in Ontario

Metis and Non-Status Indian Locals

Friendship Centres

FOOTNOTES AND REFERENCES

Chapter 1

a) Footnotes

1. Useful overviews of Ontario's geographic regions may be found in John Warkentin, ed., *Canada: A Geographical Interpretation.* (Toronto: Methuen, 1968) and in D.F. Putnam, ed., *Canadian Regions* (Toronto: Dent, 1952). Louis Gentilcore and Jacob Spelt have contributed more specialized studies in this area.

2. Two general views of Ontario's native people are Diamond Jenness, *The Indians of Canada* (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1932) and Canada Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, *Indians of Ontario* (Ottawa: Indian Affairs Branch, 1966).

3. Jenness, *The Indians of Canada,* maintains this perspective.

4. A good introduction to this much-argued area is Gary B. Nash, *Red, White and Black: The Peoples of Early America,* 2nd ed. (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1982). Nash's bibliographical essay is especially useful. Ontario's population would have been no more than 50,000 before white contact.

5. A pioneer study which is still very useful is A.G. Bailey, *The Conflict of European and Eastern Algonkian Cultures 1504-1700: A Study in Canadian Civilization,* 2nd ed. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1969).

6. A masterful study of Huron culture is Bruce Trigger, *The Children of Aatqentsic: A History of the Huron People* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1976).

7. Conrad Heidenreich, *Huronia: A History and Geography of the Huron Indians 1600-1650* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1971), examines Huron culture from a geographical perspective.

8. Trigger, *The Children,* 304-344, discusses these relationships.

9. This is Diamond Jenness's classification.

10. There is considerable literature on the fur trade. Among other useful works are the following:

    C.A. Bishop, *The Northern Ojibwa and the Fur Trade* (Toronto: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1974);

    R.W. Dunning, *Social and Economic Change Among the Northern Ojibwa* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1959);

    A.J. Ray and D. Freeman, *'Give Us Good Measure': An Economic Analysis of Relations Between the Indians and the Hudson's Bay Company Before 1763* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1978).

11. Trigger, *The Children,* 27.

12. Dunning, *Northern Ojibwa,* 3-4.

13. H.A. Innis, *The Fur Trade in Canada* rev. ed. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1956), 35.

14. A helpful study of this frontier experience is W.J. Eccles, *The Canadian Frontier, 1534-1760* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1974).

15. See Trigger, *The Children,* 508-510 for an example of these processes.

16. Cornelius Jaenen, *Friend and Foe: Aspects of French-Amerindian Cultural Contact in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1976), provides a good discussion of this area.

17. Sylvia van Kirk, *"Many Tender Ties": Women in Fur Trade Society in Western Canada, 1670-1870* (Winnipeg: Watson and Dwyer, n.d.)

18. Nash, *Red, White and Black* and Francis Jennings, *The Invasion of America: Indians, Colonialism and the Cant of Conquest* (New York: Norton, 1976) provide helpful overviews of this process.

19. A useful survey of these legalities is contained in Peter Cumming and Neil Mickenberg, *Native Rights in Canada,* 2nd ed. (Toronto: General Publishing, 1972).

20. A useful study of British colonial administration is Jack M. Sosin, *Whitehall and the Wilderness* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1961).

21. See Julian Gwyn, "Sir William Johnson", *Dictionary of Canadian Biography (DCB)*, IV, 394-398.

22. Jonathan G. Rossie, "Guy Johnson," *DCB*, IV, 393-394. Douglas Leighton, "Christian Daniel Claus", IV, 154-155.

23. A recent study of the Royal Proclamation is Jack Stagg, *Anglo-Indian Relations in North America to 1763 and An Analysis of the Royal Proclamation of 7 October, 1763.* (Ottawa: Research Branch, Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, 1981).

24. R.S. Allen, "The British Indian Department and the Frontier in North America, 1755-1830," Canadian Historic Sites, *Occasional Papers in Archaeology and History*, #14, 15-125.

25. Reginald Horsman, *Matthew Elliott, British Indian Agent* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1964) is a useful study of this period.

26. Canada, *Indian Treaties and Surrenders* (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1891. Reprint ed. Toronto: Coles, 1972), I, 251-52.

27. C.M. Johnston, *The Valley of the Six Nations* (Toronto: Champlain Society, 1964).

28. C.H. Torok, "The Tyendinaga Mohawks," *Ontario History*, LVII (1965), 69-77.

29. Elma and Leslie Gray, *Wilderness Christians: The Moravian Mission to the Delaware Indians* (Toronto: Macmillan, 1956).

30. There is no adequate biography of Joseph Brant. A helpful study is M.J. Smith, "Joseph Brant: Mohawk Statesman" (Ph.D. thesis, University of Wisconsin, 1946).

31. C.M. Johnston, *Valley*, 67.

32. Helen H. Tanner, "The Glaize in 1792: A Composite Indian Community," *Ethnohistory*, XXV (1978), 15-39.

33. Donald B. Smith of the University of Calgary has published several articles on Jones and the Mississaugas; most of them have appeared in *Ontario History*.

34. Barbara Graymont, "Konwatsi Tsiaienni" DCB, IV, 416-419.

35. C.F. Klinck and J.J. Talman. *The Journal of Major John Norton, 1809-16* (Toronto: Champlain Society, 1970).

36. D. Leighton, "George Henry Martin Johnson," DCB, XI, 451-453.

37. Jacqueline Peterson, "Prelude to Red River: A Social Portrait of the Great Lakes Metis", *Ethnohistory*, XXV (1978), 41-67.

38. Ruth Bleasdale, "Manitowaning: An Experiment in Indian settlement," *Ontario History*, LXVI (1974), 147-157.

39. Douglas Leighton, "Abram Nelles", *DCB*, XI, 639-640.

40. Robert Surtees, "The Development of an Indian Reserve Policy in Canada," *Ontario History*, LXI (1969), 87-98.

41. J.E. Hodgetts, *Pioneer Public Services* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1956), 205-225.

42. Douglas Leighton, "The Manitoulin Incident of 1865," *Ontario History*, LXIX (1977), 113-124. See also the very recent book of essays on Manitoulin Island by W.R. Wightman, *Forever Beyond the Fringe* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982).

43. G. Brown and R. Maguire, *Indian Treaties in Historical Perspective* (Ottawa: Department of Indian and Northern Affairs, 1979), 21-28.

44. A useful study of the Caradoc community is T. Laird Christie, "Reserve Colonialism and Socio-Cultural Change," Ph.D. Thesis, University of Toronto, 1976.

45. There is a growing literature in this field. W.T. Stanbury, *Success and Failure: Indians in Urban Society* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1975), examines the British

Columbia situation. Wilfred Pelletier and Ted Poole, *No Foreign Land* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1973) is the autobiography of an Indian from Wikwemikong which traces some of these themes.

Metis historiography is also beginning to develop. Among useful works are the following:

Harry W. Daniels, ed., *The Forgotten People, Metis and non-Status Indian Land Claims* (Ottawa: Native Council of Canada, 1979)

Harry W. Daniels, *We Are the New Nation/Nous Sommes la Nouvelle Nation* (Ottawa: Native Council of Canada, 1979)

Duke Redbird, *We Are Metis: A Metis View of the Development of a Native Canadian People* (Toronto: OMNSIA, 1980)

Joe Sawchuk, *The Metis of Manitoba: Reformulation of an Ethnic Identity* (Toronto: Peter Martin Associates, 1978)

D.B. Sealey and A. Lussier, *The Metis: Canada's Forgotten People* (Winnipeg: Manitoba Metis Federation Press, 1975)

46. Stan Cuthand, "The Native Peoples of the Prairie Provinces in the 1920's and 1930's" in Ian Getty and D.B. Smith, eds., *One Century Later* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1978), 31-35.

47. Canada, Statutes, 20 Vict. Chap. 26.

48. Canada, Statutes, 31 Vict. Chap. 42, Section 15.

49. Canada, Statutes, 39 Vict. Chap. 18, Section 3-4.

50. Malcolm Montgomery, "The Six Nations Indians and the Macdonald Franchise", *Ontario History*, LVII (1965), 13-28.

b) References

A.G. Bailey, *The Conflict of European and Eastern Algonkian Cultures, 1504-1700: A Study in Canadian Civilization.* 2nd ed. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1969.

Jennifer Brown, "Fur Traders, Racial Categories and Kinship Networks," in Wm. Cowan, ed., *Papers of the Sixth Algonquian Conference, 1974* (Ottawa: National Museum of Man Mercury Series, Paper No. 23, 1975), pp. 209-222.

Jennifer Brown, *Strangers in Blood: Fur Trade Company Families in Indian Country.* Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1980.

Canada, Department of Indian Affairs & Northern Development, *Indians of Ontario: An Historical Review.* Ottawa: Indian Affairs Branch, 1966.

Canada, Indian Claims Commission, *Indian Claims in Canada: An Introductory Essay and Selected List of Library Holdings.* Ottawa: Information Canada, 1975.

Canada, Joint Council, *First Annual Report on the Policy of Increased Participation of Indian, Metis, Non-Status Indian and Inuit People in the Federal Public Service.* Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services, Canada, 1981.

Canada, Program Statistic Division, Indian & Eskimo Affairs Program, DIAND, *Number and Average of Indian Reserves by Bands, Canada, December 31, 1975.* Ottawa: DIAND, (May 11) 1976.

James A. Clifton, "Personal and Ethnic Identity on the Great Lakes Frontier: the Case of Billy Caldwell, Anglo-Canadian," *Ethno-history*, 25 (1978), 69-94.

Harry W. Daniels, *We Are the New Nation/ Nous Sommes La Nouvelle Nation.* Ottawa: Native Council of Canada, 1979.

Harry W. Daniels, ed., *The Forgotten People: Metis and Non-Status Indian Land Claims.* Ottawa: Native Council of Canada, 1979.

J.S. Frideres, *Canada's Indians: Contemporary Conflicts.* Toronto, Prentice-Hall, 1974.

Rene Fumoleau, *As Long As This Land Shall Last: A History of Treaty 8 and Treaty 11, 1870-1939.* Toronto: McClelland and Stewart.

M. Giraud, *Le Metis Canadien: Son role dans l'histoire des provinces de l'Ouest.* Paris: Institut d'Ethnologie, 1945.

Fred K. Hatt, "The Canadian Metis: recent interpretations," *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 3(1) (1971), 1-16.

Fred K. Hatt, "The Metis and Community Development in Northeastern Alberta," in B.Y. Card, ed., *Perspectives on Regions and Regionalism and Other Papers* (Edmonton: University of Alberta, 1969), 111-125.

William H. Henderson, *Land Tenure in Indian Reserves.* Ottawa: Research Branch, Policy, Research and Evaluation Group, Dept. of Indian & Northern Affairs, 1978.

Carol Klinck and James J. Talman, *The Journal of Major John Norton, 1816.* Toronto: Champlain Society, 1970.

Jean H. Lagasse, *The People of Indian Ancestry in Manitoba: A Social and Economic Study, 3 vols.* Winnipeg: Manitoba Department of Agriculture and Immigration, 1959.

M.A. MacLeod and W.L. Morton, *Cuthbert Grant of Grantown: Warden of the Plains of Red River.* Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1963.

George Manuel and Michael Posluns, *The Fourth World, An Indian Reality.* Toronto: Collier-Macmillan, 1974.

A.S. Morton, "The New Nation, The Metis," *Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada,* Section 2, *XXXIII,* Series 3, 137-145.

W.L. Morton, "The Canadian Metis," *The Beaver,* September, 1950.

Native Council of Canada, *Federal Responsibilities for Canada's Forgotten Peoples: The Metis and Non-Status Indians.* A Brief to the P.M., Ottawa, 12 June 1973.

Native Council of Canada, *Metis and Non-Status Indian Economic and Social Aims and Priorities.* Ottawa, June 1975.

Ontario Ministry of Culture and Recreation, *Metis and Non-Status Indians of Ontario: Community Profile and Demographic Study* (2 vols.). Toronto: Ontario Ministry of Culture and Recreation, 1980.

Doug Owram, *Promise of Eden: The Canadian Expansionist Movement and the Idea of the West 1856-1900.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1980.

Jacqueline Peterson, "Prelude to Red River: A Social Portrait of the Great Lakes Metis," *Ethnohistory XXV,* (Winter, 1978), 41-67.

J. Rick Ponting and Roger Gibbins, *Out of Irrelevance: A socio-political Introduction to Indian Affairs in Canada.* Toronto: Butterworths, 1980.

Richard J. Preston, "Eastern Cree Community in Relation to Fur Trade Post in the 1830's: the Background of the Posting Process," in Wm. Cowan, ed., *Papers of the Sixth Algonquian Conference, 1974* (Ottawa: National Museum of Man Mercury Series, Paper No. 23, 1975), pp. 324-335.

Arthur J. Ray, *Indians in the Fur Trade.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974.

John Reade, "The Half-breed", Royal Society of Canada, *Transactions,* section 2, 1885, 1-21.

E.E. Rich, *The Fur Trade and the Northwest to 1857.* Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1967.

Peter S. Schmalz, *The History of the Saugeen Indians,* n.p.: Ontario Historical Society, 1977.

Douglas Sanders, "Metis Rights in the Prairie Provinces and the Northwest Territories: A Legal Interpretation," in Harry W. Daniels, ed., *The Forgotten People: Metis and non-Status Indian Land Claims.* (Ottawa: Native Council of Canada, 1979), 5-22.

Joe Sawchuk, *The Metis of Manitoba: Reformulation of an Ethnic Identity.* Toronto: Peter Martin Associates, 1978.

D. Bruce Sealey and Antoine S. Lussier, *The Metis: Canada's Forgotten People.* Winnipeg: Manitoba Metis Federation Press, 1975.

Richard Slobodin, *Metis of the Mackenzie District.* Ottawa: Canadian Research Centre for Anthropology, Saint Paul University, 1966.

Robert J. Surtees, *The Original People.* Toronto: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1971.

Helen Hornbeck Tanner, "The Glaize in 1792: A Composite Indian Community," *Ethnohistory,* vol. 25 (1978), pp. 15-39.

Lewis G. Thomas, gen. ed., *The Prairie West to 1905: A Canadian Sourcebook.* Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1975.

A.H. de Tremaudan, *Histoire de la Nation Metisse Dans L'Ouest Canadien.* St. Boniface: Les Editions du Ble, 1979. (reprint of 1936 edition).

F.J. Turner, "The Character and Influence of the Indian Trade in Wisconsin," in H.B. Adams, ed., *Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science* (Vol. IX, Education History and Politics). Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1891.

Sylvia Van Kirk, *"Many Tender Ties": Women in Fur-Trade Society in Western Canada, 1670-1870.* Winnipeg: Watson & Dwyer, n.d. (1980).

Sally M. Weaver, *Making Canadian Indian Policy: The Hidden Agenda, 1968-1970* Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1981.

Morris Zaslow, *The Opening of the Canadian North 1870-1914.* Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1971.

Chapter 2

1. Goddard, Ives, "Central Algonkian Languages". In *Handbook of North American Indians: Northeast,* (vol. 15), ed. Bruce Trigger. Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1978, p. 583.

2. Rogers, E.S., "Southeastern Ojibwa". In *Handbook of North American Indians: Northeast,* (vol. 15), ed. Bruce Trigger. Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1978; Morris, J.L., *Indians of Ontario.* Toronto: Department of Lands and Forests, 1943, (reprinted 1964).

3. Heidenreich, Conrad, "Huron". In *Handbook of North American Indians: Northeast,* vol. 15), ed. Bruce Trigger. Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1978.

4. Rogers 1978, pp. 760-61; Heidenreich 1978.

5. Rogers, 1978; Tooker, Elisabeth, *An Ethnography of the Huron Indians 1615-1649.* Washington, D.C.: Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin No. 190; Trigger, Bruce, *The Huron Farmers of the North.* Toronto: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1969.

6. Rogers 1978, p. 765.

7. Trigger 1969.

8. Rogers 1978, p. 760.

9. Rogers, Edward S. and J. Garth Taylor, "Northern Ojibwa". In *Handbook of Northern American Indians: Subarctic,* (vol. 6), ed. June Helm. Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1981, p. 233.

10. Honigmann, John, "West Main Cree". In *Handbook of North American Indians: Subarctic,* (vol. 6), ed. June Helm. Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1981, p. 223.

11. Bishop, Charles, *The Northern Ojibwa and the Fur Trade: An Historical and Ecological Study.* Toronto: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1974, p. 345; Bishop, Charles, "Territorial Groups Before 1821: Cree and Ojibwa". In *Handbook of North American Indians: Subarctic,* (vol. 6), ed. June Helm. Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1981, pp. 158-60; Honigmann, 1981; Judd, Carol, "The Foundation of Growth of Metis Society at Moose Factory, Ontario". Paper presented at the Metis in North America: A First Conference, Newberry Library, Chicago, Illinois, 3-5 September, 1981; Long, John, *Treaty No. 9, The Half-breed Question 1902-1910.* Cobalt, Ontario: Highway Book Shop, 1978; Rogers and Taylor, 1981.

12. Judd 1981.

13. DIAND, *Indians of Ontario* (An Historical Overview). Ottawa: Indian Affairs Branch, 1966.

14. Christie, Laird, *Reserve Colonialism and Sociocultural Change.* Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Department of Anthropology, University of Toronto, 1976, pp. 172-94.

15. DIAND, *Indian Conditions: A Survey.* Ottawa, 1980.

16. Redbird, Duke, *We Are Metis: A Metis View of the Development of a Native Canadian People.* Willowdale, Ontario: OMNSIA, 1980.

17. Redbird 1980.

18. Toronto Native Canadian Centre News, September 1982.

19. DIAND, Treaties and Historical Research Centre, P.R.E. Group, *The Historical Development of the Indian Act.* Ottawa, 1978, p. 27.

20. DIAND 1978, p. 53.

21. DIAND 1978, p. 68.

22. DIAND 1978, pp. 115, 117-118.

23. McCaskill, Don, *The Urbanization of Canadian Indians in Winnipeg, Toronto, Edmonton and Vancouver: A Comparative Analysis.* Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Department of Sociology, York University, 1979; Ontario Manpower Commission, *Employment and Native Persons in Ontario.* Toronto, April 1982.

24. Gerber, Linda, *Minority Survival: Community Characteristics and Out-Migration from Indian Communities Across Canada.* Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Department of Anthropology, University of Toronto, 1976.

25. Christie, 1976; Denton, Trevor, *Strangers in Their Land: A Study of Migration from a Canadian Indian Reserve.* Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Department of Anthropology, University of Toronto, 1970.

26. Denton 1970; Gerber 1976; McCaskill 1979; Nagler, Mark, *Indians in the City.* Ottawa: Canadian Research Centre for Anthropology, St. Paul University, 1970.

27. McCaskill 1979.

28. DIAND 1982.

29. McLuhan, Elizabeth, "The Secularization of Ojibwe Imagery and the Emergence of the Image Makers". In *Contemporary Native Art of Canada — Manitoulin Island.* Toronto: Royal Ontario Museum, 1978, pp 19-25.

30. Sinclair, Lister and Jack Pollock, *The Art of Norval Morriseau.* Toronto: Methuen, 1979.

31. Canada, *Statement of the Government of Canada on Indian Policy.* Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1969.

32. The other six organizations are the Ontario Metis and Non-Status Indian Association (OMNSIA); the Union of Ontario Indians (UOI); Grand Council Treaty No. 9 (GCT No. 9); Grand Council Treaty No. 3 (GCT No. 3); the Association of Iroquois and Allied Indians (AIAI); and the Chiefs of Ontario Office.

Chapter 3

a) References

The references used for this chapter are listed below and are numbered to facilitate the footnote listing which follows. In the footnotes, the numbers cited correspond to this list.

1. DIAND, *A Demographic, Social and Economic Profile of Registered Indians in Ontario.* Prepared for the Demographic and Socio-Economic Sub-Committee of the Ontario Tripartite Working Group on Services by the Research Branch, Indian and Inuit Affairs Program. Ottawa, October 1979.

2. DIAND, *A Demographic Profile of Registered Indian Women.* Prepared by the Research Branch, P.R.E., Indian and Inuit Affairs Program. Ottawa, October 1979.

3. DIAND, *Indian Conditions: A Survey.* Ottawa, 1980.

4. DIAND, *Registered Indian Population by Sex and Residences for Bands, Districts, Regions and Canada, December 31, 1980.* Reserves and Trusts, Indian and Inuit Affairs Program. Ottawa, August 1982.

5. DREE (Northwestern Ontario), *The Status Indian Population of Ontario.* August 1981.

6. Ministry of Culture and Recreation (Native Community Branch), *Metis and Non-Status Indians of Ontario: Community Profile and Demographic Study.* Toronto, 1980.

7. Ministry of Treasury and Economics, *Ontario Statistics,* 1981.

8. Native Council of Canada (NCC) and Canada Employment and Immigration Commission (CEIC), *Survey of Metis and Non-Status Indians: Statistical Report of the Individually Surveyed Communities.* December 1977.

9. OMNSIA, *Native Labour Force and Employment Needs Assessment.* Toronto, March 1979.

10. Siggner, Andrew J., *An Overview of Demographic, Social and Economic Conditions Among Canada's Registered Indian Population.* Ottawa: DIAND, Research Branch, P.R.E., Indian and Inuit Affairs Program, 10 September 1979.

11. Statistics Canada, *Statistics Canada Daily February 1, 1983,* Catalogue 11-001. Ottawa, 1983.

12. Taylor, Christopher E., *The Metis and Non-Status Indian Population: Numbers and Characteristics.* Report prepared for Native Citizens Directorate, Department of the Secretary of State. 1 March 1979.

13. Taylor, Chris, and Rob Howarth, Karen Kuzmochka and Ken Svenson, *Demographic Studies of Native People in Urban Settings.* A Research Report submitted to the Ontario Task Force on Native people in the Urban Setting, 1981.

b) Footnotes

1. ref. 4	15. ref. 12	29. ref. 13
2. ref. 3,4	16. ref. 13	30. ref. 1,10
3. ref. 7	17. ref. 11	31. ref. 12
4. ref. 11	18. ref. 1	32. ref. 13
5. ref. 4	19. ref. 1,8	33. ref. 6,8
6. ref. 4	20. ref. 6,8	34. ref. 1
7. ref. 1	21. ref. 12	35. ref. 2
8. ref. 1	22. ref. 5	36. ref. 6,7,12,13
9. ref. 5	23. ref. 1	37. ref. 9
10. ref. 4	24. ref. 1	38. ref. 1
11. ref. 5	25. ref. 1	39. ref. 6
12. ref. 1	26. ref. 1	40. ref. 13
13. ref. 12	27. ref. 1	
14. ref. 6,8	28. ref. 3	

APPENDICES

1

Appendix 1

Indian Treaties in Ontario

22 May 1784	Mississauga	Thames Valley	I, p.5
25 October 1784	Six Nations	Grand R. Valley	I, p.251
15 May 1786	Ottawa, Chippewa	Detroit R., St. Clair R.	I, p.272
23 September 1787	Mississauga	Bay of Quinte/"Gunshot"	I, p.32
19 May 1790	Ottawa *et al*	Southwestern Ontario	I, p.1
7 December 1792	Mississauga	Eastern L. Erie	I, p.5
1 April 1793	Mohawks	Bay of Quinte	I, p.7
14 January 1793	Six Nations	Grand R. Valley	I, p.9
7 September 1796	Chippewa	N. of Thames R.	I, p.17
21 August 1797	Mississauga	Burlington Bay	I, p.22
22 May 1798	Chippewa	Simcoe County	I, p.15
30 June 1798	Chippewa	St. Joseph's Island	I, p.27
11 September 1800	Ottawa *et al*	Detroit R.	I, p.30
2 August 1805	Mississauga	Credit R.	I, p.34
6 September 1806	Mississauga	Etobicoke R.	I, p.36
18 November 1815	Chippewa	Simcoe County	I, p.43
5 August 1816	Mississauga	Bay of Quinte	I, p.45
17 October 1818	Chippewa	South Central Ontario	I, p.47
28 October 1818	Mississauga	South Central Ontario	I, p.47
5 November 1818	Chippewa	South Central Ontario	I, p.48
28 February 1820	Mississauga	Credit R.	I, pp.50,53
20 July 1820	Mohawks	Bay of Quinte	I, p.54
8 July 1822	Chippewa	North of Thames R.	I, p.58
28 November 1822	Mississauga	Southeastern Ontario	I, p.63
10 July 1827	Chippewa	Southwestern Ontario	I, p.71
19 April 1830	Six Nations	Wentworth County	I, p.76
19 April 1831	Six Nations	Haldimand County	I, p.79
13 August 1833	Wyandot	Detroit R.	I, p.88
18 November 1833	Mississauga	Bay of Quinte	I, p.89
5 February 1834	Chippewa	Caradoc Twp.	I, p.90
8 February 1834	Six Nations	S. Grand River Valley	I, p.91
26 March 1835	Six Nations	Grand R.	I, p.94
2 April 1835	Six Nations	Grand R.	I, p.96
9 August 1836	Ottawa *et al*	Manitoulin Island	I, p.112

Indian Treaties in Ontario

25 October 1836	Moravian	Thames R.	I, p.115
1 June 1847	Iroquois	Eastern Ontario	I, p.136
7 September 1850	Ojibwa	Lake Superior	I, p.147
9 September 1850	Ojibwa	Lake Huron	I, p.149
17 June 1852	Chippewa	Orillia Twp.	I, p.159
13 October 1854	Chippewa	S. Georgian Bay	I, p.195
4 July 1856	Mohawk	Bay of Quinte	I, p.212
9 February 1857	Chippewa	Owen Sound	I, p.208
9 April 1857	Delaware	Moravian Reserve	I, p.215
21 July 1857	Chippewa	Detroit River	I, p.227
10 June 1859	Garden River	North Central Ontario	I, p.229
11 June 1859	Thessalon River	North Central Ontario	I, p.231
6 October 1862	Ottawa, Chippewa	Manitoulin Island	I, p.235
3 October 1873	Ojibwa	Northwest Ontario	I, p.303
25 November 1874	Garden River	St. Mary's River	II, p.1
17 June 1875	Chippewa	Southwestern Ontario	II, p.7
20 September 1875	Cree	Northwestern Ontario	II, p.16
12 July 1905	Cree, Ojibwa	James Bay watershed	
31 October 1923	Chippewa	South Central Ontario	
15 November 1923	Mississauga	South Central Ontario	
5 July 1929	Ojibwa, Cree	James Bay watershed	

Volume and page numbers refer to *Canada, Indian Treaties and Surrenders* (reprint ed., Toronto, Coles, 1971). Data from George Brown and Ron Maguire, *Indian Treaties in Historical Perspective* (Ottawa: Research Branch, Department of Indian and Northern Affairs, 1979).

Appendix 2

Pre-Confederation Acts Affecting Indians (and post-Confederation acts to 1881)

2 Vic. Chap. XII	Amendments to Sunday hunting regulations	11 May 1839
3 Vic. Chap. XIII	Amending Indian liquor regulations	10 Feb. 1840
2 Vic. Chap. XV	Crown Lands Protection Act	11 May 1839
13-14 Vic. Chap. XLII	Protection of Lower Canada Indian Lands	10 Aug. 1850
13-14 Vic. Chap. LXXIV	Protection of Upper Canada Indian Lands	10 Aug. 1850
18 Vic. Chap. CLXVII	Indian Lands in Durham Township	30 May 1855
19 Vic. Chap. IV	Indian Lands in Durham Township	21 April 1856
20 Vic. Chap. XXVI	Civilization of Indian Tribes	10 June 1857
23 Vic. Chap. XXXVIII	Amending Indian Civilization Act	19 May 1860
23 Vic. Chap. LXXXII	Indian Lands in Durham Township	19 May 1860
31 Vic. Chap. XLII	Establishment of Dept. of Secretary of State	22 May 1868
39 Vic. Chap. 18	Indian Act, 1876	12 April 1876
43 Vic. Chap. 28	Indian Act, 1880	7 May 1880
44 Vic. Chap. 17	Amendment to Indian Act, 1880	21 March 1881

CONTACT

For further information please contact:

Director
Native Community Branch
Ministry of Citizenship and Culture
5th Floor, 77 Bloor Street West
Toronto, Ontario M7A 2R9
Telephone: (416) 965-5003
965-5004

or your local Native Development Consultant at the following addresses:

Northwest Area

FORT FRANCES
Box 613
2nd Floor, 240 Scott St.
Fort Frances, Ontario
P9A 3M9
Tel: (807) 274-9732

GERALDTON
Box 778
303 Main Street E.
Geraldton, Ontario
P0T 1M0
Tel: (807) 854-0169

KENORA
1. Kenora/Dryden
2. West Patricia
20 Main Street
Kenora, Ontario
P9N 1S7
Tel: (807) 468-5568

THUNDER BAY
1825 East Arthur St.
Thunder Bay, Ontario
P7E 5N7
Tel: (807) 475-1225

Northeast Area

ORILLIA
15 Matchedash St. North
Orillia, Ontario
L3V 4T4
Tel: (705) 325-9561

SAULT STE. MARIE
Box 68
390 Bay Street
Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario
P6A 1X2
Tel: (705) 942-0419

SUDBURY
4th Floor
199 Larch Street
Sudbury, Ontario
P3E 5P9
Tel: (841) 675-4349

TIMMINS
22 Wilcox St., 2nd Flr.
Timmins, Ontario
P4N 3K6
Tel: (705) 267-7110

South Area

TORONTO
5th Floor, 77 Bloor St. W.
Toronto, Ontario
M7A 2R9
Tel: (416) 965-5003

LONDON
5th Floor, 495 Richmond St.
London, Ontario
N6A 5A9
Tel: (813) 438-2947